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Zhivkov Message to Interparliamentary Union

AU1309112589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] To Mr Daouda Sow, chairman of the Interparliamentary Union and Mr Pierre Cornillion, general secretary of the Interparliamentary Union:

Esteemed gentlemen, I have the honorable task, on behalf of the National Assembly, the State Council, and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to congratulate you and all participants in the 82d Jubilee Conference of the Interparliamentary Union on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of its establishment.

We highly appreciate the noble activities of the Interparliamentary Union which for a whole century has really contributed to the preservation of peace and security in the world and to the consolidation of cooperation and understanding among peoples.

You are celebrating your remarkable centennial at a time of promising, positive changes in international life. The world today more than ever needs the joint actions of all peoples and social forces for the sake of rescuing our small planet from disaster.

We are convinced that it is the noble task of parliament members in all countries to work perseveringly for the renewal of the world. Who else, if not the members of parliaments—of those supreme peoples' forums—could better contribute to the consolidation of new political thinking in international relations.

I would like to assure you that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which was one of the first countries to join the Interparliamentary Union, will continue actively to participate in the lofty, humanitarian activities of this prestigious and representatives international organization and will contribute to the preservation and consolidation of peace all over the world.

I wish your conference every success.

Signed: Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Zhivkov Greets Ethiopia's Mariam on Anniversary

AU1309111489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council chairman, has sent a message to Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, on the 15th anniversary of the victory of the Ethiopian people's revolution. The message addresses most cordial greetings and wishes for happiness, well-being, and prosperity to the industrious Ethiopian people.

During the past 15 years revolutionary Ethiopia defended its territorial integrity and right to independent and progressive socioeconomic development, the message reads. Eliminating the feudal monarchy, founding the Workers Party of Ethiopia, adopting the first people's constitution, and establishing the People's Democratic Republic are historical achievements of the Ethiopian people. We closely follow and support the initiatives of the Ethiopian state leadership, aimed at creating the preconditions for constructing a peaceful, united, and indivisible Ethiopia.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly values Ethiopia's consistent efforts to achieve lasting peace and good-neighborly relations in the region of the Horn of Africa, along the road of negotiations, its active solidarity with the democratic forces in Africa and the world, and its contribution to the struggle against racism and apartheid, and for the final elimination of colonialism. We rejoice at the deserved international authority that Ethiopia enjoys thanks to its constructive role in the OAU, the Nonaligned Movement, and the United Nations.

The message notes that relations between the two friendly countries, based on the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, continue to strengthen and develop for the benefit of the Bulgarian and Ethiopian nations. It also expresses confidence that future cooperation between the BCP and the Workers Party of Ethiopia will serve their common and noble goals, related to constructing the new democratic and just society.

Zhivkov Greets Kim Il-song on Anniversary

AU1309113589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council chairman, has sent the following message to Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK]:

Dear Comrade Kim Il-song,

On the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people, and on my personal behalf I send you, and in your person, the WPK Central Committee, and all Korean working people and Communists cordial greetings and wishes for peace and prosperity in your motherland.

The founding of the DPRK 41 years ago opened a bright page in your country's history. Under the WPK leadership the fraternal Korean people are successfully

marching along the road of constructing the new society. Their well-being constantly improves.

Throughout that period the first state of workers and peasants on Korean soil grew and consolidated as a reliable factor of peace and socialism. We highly value and support the efforts of the WPK and the DPRK Government and people to strengthen peace and security, create a nuclear-free zone in the Korean peninsula, and peacefully and democratically unite the motherland.

We note with sincere satisfaction that traditional relations of friendship and close cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples are constantly developing and expanding on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for the benefit of our two nations.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you, dear Comrade Kim Il-song, all Korean Communists, and the fraternal Korean people new and even greater successes in implementing the responsible tasks outlined by the Sixth WPK Congress, in the name of DPRK's prosperity.

Stoyanov Delivers Speech on National Day

AU0809203089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Speech by Dimitur Stoyanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at a festive rally to mark the 45th anniversary of socialist revolution in Bulgaria held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia on 8 September 1989—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear guests, dearest fellow citizens, it is with profound reverence and gratitude that socialist Bulgaria preserves the remarkable events of our glorious past in its historic memory. The most dignified way to commemorate such events is to make a worthy assessment of our achievements and to cast an optimistic glance on the future.

Today we are celebrating the 45th anniversary of the 9 September 1944 socialist revolution. It marked the beginning of political, socioeconomic, and cultural changes in our country—which we are justified in calling changes of historic importance.

We, the present-day generations who have embarked upon the path of new, revolutionary changes, are celebrating Bulgaria's glorious, national day by assessing past years and by integrating the lessons from them in our program for our native land's future. This is so, because our revolution continues.

Comrades, socialist revolution was the logical result of the development of the socio-class contradictions in capitalist society. It was a result of the prolonged, heroic struggles waged by the workers class, the toiling peasants, and the people's intelligentsia, a result of all progressive forces in our country. The beginning of this revolution was marked by the peasant revolts at the end of the last century, by the 1918 soldiers' uprising, by the 1923 July and September uprisings, by thousands of strikes and other class struggles, and by the armed clashes under conditions of underground struggle.

With all this, the beginning of the socialist revolution was marked by that profound change in our nation's life which began with the propagation of socialist ideas and continued with the gradual assertion of our theory which became the main stream of intellectual development in Bulgaria.

The skill of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] to creatively apply and develop its theory and policy, to implement its historical mission as the political vanguard of the proletariat, to be the protector of the working people's and the country's basic interests, manifested itself in the revolution's preparation and victory.

In the fateful years of World War II, our party rallied the democratic, progressive, and patriotic forces around the workers class in the Fatherland Front which was our salvation. It organized armed struggle against monarcho-fascism for the conquest of political power.

Every time we celebrate our greatest national day, we address our most ardent feelings and our warmest words of gratitude to the revolutionary guard which prepared and implemented the 9 September 1944 victory. We dip our colors to the sacrifice of those who perished, and we pay well-deserved reverence to the surviving heroes and veterans of revolutionary struggles and to the generations who are defending the victory. (applause).

Their heroic example inspires the people's basic interests, aimed at the elimination of exploitation, at striving for freedom, democracy, and justice, and for a lofty morality and humanitarianism, without which socialist society is unthinkable.

The 9 September socialist revolution is indivisible from the worldwide revolutionary process. Our party and people are proud of the fact that we were among the first to proceed along the path of the Great Socialist October Revolution. The victories of the Red Army against the Hitlerite invaders and its glorious advance in the Balkans created the decisive conditions for the full success of our people's heroic struggle against monarcho-fascism. It is to the invincible Soviet Army, to the sons and daughters of the Soviet Union that our fraternal gratitude and reverence is addressed. (applause).

The 9 September 1944 socialist revolution has its own, original, historic meaning. It confirmed Lenin's idea of taking advantage of all opportunities for democratic changes and transitional forms in the workers class struggle for social justice. As early as its first steps toward a new society, the party pursued the quest for creative solutions in theory and practice. The broad social basis of the people's democratic government, represented by the workers, peasants, artisans, the people's intelligentsia, certain strata of the anti-fascist bourgeoisie, and the constructive cooperation of the BCP with the Bulgarian

National Agrarian Union and with the other political and social forces united in the Fatherland Front were a peculiar form of political and ideological pluralism. The party developed and implemented farsighted strategic and tactical moves in the sphere of the political and ideological superstructure, in the sphere of socioeconomic and cultural life.

As a result of this, historical changes took place under the banner of the people's government. The Fifth BCP Congress gave a strong impetus to these processes.

We are paying tribute to the party and state leadership of that epoch which ensured the successful progress of revolution under the complexities and difficulties of postwar Bulgaria.

It is with profound reverence and gratitude that we note the contribution made by Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of our motherland and outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement. (applause).

Regardless of the difficulties and contradictions of that epoch, the revolutionary process developed and was intensified. Bulgaria was advancing. Industrialization, collectivization, and the socialist reorganization of agriculture, as well as cultural renewal began at that epoch.

Nevertheless, the simplified concepts of socialism which increasingly prevailed in the international communist movement exercised a strong influence upon the development and implementation of the program on the construction of a new society.

The economic and cultural backwardness of certain countries in which revolution was victorious also exerted its influence. New principles and ideals were proclaimed, but along with this, socialism was developing upon an inadequate material-technical basis.

Under these circumstances, the objective conditions fed illusions and aberrations of a dogmatic nature, and under the circumstances of the personality cult, even deformations and gross distortions were committed.

Our BCP Central Committee today does not silently pass over other painful consequences resulting from the theory and practice of the personality cult. Highly respected party figures in our country were unjustly declared enemies of the people. Prior to this, the repressive measures in the Soviet Union affected hundreds of Bulgarian political emigres, including distinguished figures of the BCP and the international communist and workers movement.

The April 1956 BCP Central Committee rejected the personality cult. It rejected voluntarism and dogmatism. It restored the Leninist principles and norms of party and state leadership. It preserved, further developed, and enriched the values of the 9 September revolution. This plenum established the foundations of a new general party line, to which the construction of new socialist Bulgaria is linked. From the position of our contemporary views and from the point of view of our present-day political development, the historical role and importance of the April Plenum is even more brightly manifesting itself and appears even more glorious.

Immediately following the plenum, our party figures who suffered persecution were rehabilitated. With the assistance of our Soviet comrades, the facts and documentation related to the full rehabilitation of all Bulgarian revolutionaries, who suffered under repressive measures in the Soviet Union, are being carefully analyzed today. It is our sacred duty to restore their reputation and honor as party figures, as worthy fighters for the cause of socialism.

The April period was a period of quest in theory and practice, of dynamic social and economic development. The young People's Republic achieved great successes which fundamentally changed its image and the people's way of life, their cultural and educational standards.

Bulgaria today is a country with a developed economy, modern agriculture, and a rich scientific, cultural, and professional potential. It is a country which enjoys great international prestige. Our country is a solid link in the socialist community.

The social product increased tenfold in the period following the April Plenum. The social productivity increased ninefold. A powerful material-technical basis was established. Branches developed which promoted scientific-technical progress, such as power industry, machine-building industry, chemical industry, electronics, biotechnologies, and others. The April period was alsc remarkable as regards the development of our science, arts, and culture. The people's cultural standards increased. The people's intellectual needs became more refined. Bulgaria today is actively participating in international cultural life and is contributing to world civilization.

Our achievements in the social sphere are considerable as well. A relatively high and stable standard of living for the people was achieved. The stock of consumer goods increased nearly fivefold, the nominal labor wages increased 2.3-fold, the consumption of basic foodstuffs and durable consumer goods increased several-fold and in many respects attained the level of the world's most highly developed countries. The April period was an epoch in which legality was restored and consolidated, in which democratization developed and expanded, in which our socialist state strengthened, and prerequisites were created for an increasingly broad, active, and full participation of the working people in the leadership of society.

There are numerous factors which characterize the epoch following the April Plenum as an era of dynamic development and renewal. The formation of a new people's character for their full development and for the strengthening of their peace-loving spirit, of their striving for dialogue and communications with other nations, for the sake of peace and the well-being of mankind was the greatest achievement of that epoch.

Comrades, the objective analysis of our country's socioeconomic development, of our successes and weaknesses, of the emerging problems and needs for new historical meaning, of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution showed, in recent years, that the transition to a new model for the construction of socialism in Bulgaria is required and that this model should be in accordance with the new realities prevailing in the world and our country. The question concerns a great historical task which requires that the essence, the advantages, and the force of attraction of socialism on our Bulgarian territory should be manifested within a visible period of time. As Lenin taught us, socialist revolution is not one, single combat, but represents an entire era of numerous battles on all kinds of problems related to economic and democratic changes.

Our 9 September revolution continues today in the radical renewal of society, which was ideologically and politically explained at the remarkable July 1987 BCP Central Committee Plenum. This is the present image and the present historical meaning of the revolution. The July Plenum, which was unusual as regards its spirit, essence, and the extent of its decisions, provided theoretical and practical solutions for the challenge of our epoch related to important issues affecting our entire people and our entire society, the fate of socialism, the idea, and cause of our revolution.

The July Plenum clearly and frankly discussed existing problems, without understating the successes, but without concealing the shortcomings and weaknesses of society. The plenum rejected the evolutionary alternative of development. It expressed conceptual theoretical and political views for radical, profound, revolutionary changes of socialism, for the construction of a new model of self-managing socialist society.

The profound meaning of the July concept is to implement a restructuring process likely to affect the entire system of social relations and to create prerequisites for a technological modernization of productive forces. Restructuring is implemented at the basis and in the superstructure, in the mechanisms of leadership and management. Restructuring expands the creative forces of socialism and ensures the harmonious development of man as a creative person, as a worker, and as a consumer.

The revolutionary changes in our society are an integral part of the process of renewal taking place all over the world of socialism. In this great and difficult task, we are inspired by the example of the CPSU and the Soviet people, who are resolutely advancing along the path of restructuring. We have always stressed the fundamental coincidence of the goals and trends of restructuring in the Soviet Union and in our country.

The BCP Central Committee December Plenum held in 1988 gave a decisive impetus to restructuring in our country. The decisions of this plenum provided us with correct approaches, with methods for a broad, practical progression along the entire front of renewal in our country. The May 1989 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee developed and specified the trends of restructuring in the agricultural sphere for the renewal of the Bulgarian rural areas. The July Plenum defined the principle of the company-based organization which created possibilities for the implementation of the unity and indivisible nature of socialist property in a variety of forms, in the purpose of overcoming the people's alienation from production means and from state property. The establishment of companies opens varied opportunities for the implementation of socialist property, such as shares, land leasing, cooperatives. In this manner, restructuring will reach the commodity producers, as well as the social and territorial communities, the collectives, and the individual citizen, it will serve their interests.

This process acquired wide dimensions, as a result of which, skeleton companies were already formed in different branches of the national economy. Companies are being established in various spheres of life and methods for their consolidation and for improving their effectiveness are being sought after. The companies are asserting themselves as self-managing communities, which implement their power through their interests, as real commodity producers who are oriented toward the market. A bold step has been accomplished toward the transformation of our state into a state of self-managing communities, which have been granted great power. The roots of command-administrative methods in the management and leadership of national economy were resolutely nipped in the bud and economic approaches are asserting themselves. The restructuring process is characterized by a broad activity related to enhancing the role, rights, and responsibilities of townships, municipalities, and oblasts, while they are developing as self-managing economically and socially strong territorial communities. Our attention today is focusing on the implementation of structural changes in the branches and complexes which will create a new economic upsurge, so that it may become highly effective and successfully participate in international division of labor.

We are reaching for a high-exchange effectiveness of our economy, for the establishment of a mechanism for the convertibility of our currency, for a new structure and functions of the banks in order to bring the banking activity to the enterprises and their sub-units, for production sharing with the most advanced states on a mutually beneficial basis.

The restructuring we are now conducting will allow us to advance toward a new and active social policy, in which the individual man is not only a receptive object, but also an agent of its implementation. This is not a policy of leveling, but a policy of asserting social justice, which has a democratic character, and which is close to every man.

Restructuring of the socioeconomic sphere requires elevating the level of the internal market and services. A

new approach to forming relations between various groups and units of social production is necessary in order to enrich and stabilize the internal market and services.

Restructuring also deeply affects the intellectual sphere. The implementation of a modern integration between science, culture, education, and ideology is the main characteristic of the restructuring of the intellectual sphere. The task is to overcome obsolete thought and organizational stereotypes and the obsolete criteria of assessing modern and historical values. Under the specific conditions of the intellectual sphere, restructuring will reveal great reserves for the material-technical supply and stimulation of this sphere and for the greater dissemination of science, education, and culture among the people, in every settlement and every house.

The intellectual ascent of the Bulgarians must be implemented on the basis of our national science and culture and the achievements of world civilization. In this respect, we attribute great importance to the restructuring of the creative unions and the Bulgarian creative and technical intelligentsia.

Restructuring without the intelligentsia is unthinkable, while on the other hand, the intelligentsia needs the inspiring prospects of restructuring. Today more than ever before, our society is thirsty for new ideas and intellectual achievements. It wants to know the truth about our life. It needs independent and constructive brains, a dynamic and responsible conscience, and the contribution of the scientists, writers, painters, journalists, and teachers. Therefore we say that restructuring also is the vocation and duty of the Bulgarian intelligentsia. (applause)

During and after the July Plenum a great work was conducted in Bulgaria for the theoretical development and practical implementation of the problems that face and will face the party and the people during a prolonged historical period of revolutionary restructuring. Now we have a deeply founded philosophy of restructuring, which is contributing to resolving the strategic and tactical issues of the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria. This is the cause of the BCP, the Central Committee, and the Politburo. The creative initiative, characteristic style, and the personal theoretical and practical contribution of Comrade Todor Zhivkov are the foundation of this historical cause. (applause) He is a noted figure in the implementation of our socialist revolution, who assumed the party leadership at the crucial time in 1956. His name and cause is integrally related to working out and implementing the new general political line, and now, with the revolutionary restructuring of our society. (applause)

Comrades, the social political system is also being renewed on the principles of our restructuring's philosophy. The BCP has a leading role in this process. The very fact that the party succeeded in developing an original and scientifically founded model of socialist renewal is convincing proof of its creative and political maturity and its high sense of responsibility as the political vanguard and guarantor of restructuring. Founded almost 100 years ago by Dimitur Blagoev, one of the most noted Marxists of his time, and his collaborators, our party marched a long road from Buzludzha Peak until today. This road led it to the historical scene as a universally recognized political vanguard of the people. Today, on the eve of its 100th anniversary, the party is united, strong, and combat-ready, and armed with an innovative program of action for implementing the potential possibilities and advantages of socialism and for continuing the revolution. (applause)

Of course, all this does not mean that we should be complacent. Today the party's vitality and ability to renew and assert itself as an example of restructuring for entire society, faces a historical test. Restructuring of the political system, including the party itself, is integrally related to restructuring the economy. In this sphere, we are following the experience and lessons of our development in the near and distant past. A radical improvement of structure, style and methods of work, and a check of the cadres' ability to respond the new requirements and of the Communists' ability to be an example and model in the struggle for the elements is taking place in the party from the Central Committee down to the primary organizations.

The BCP views its profound relations with all people; the party unity and unity of action with the people; its lofty sociopolitical and moral prestige; and the preservation, development, and proof through actions of the eternal value of the socialist assets and ideals as the guarantee of the success of its innovative cause. Restructuring of the party is unthinkable without the further democratization of internal party life. The collectivism, glasnost, and openness [otkritost] in the activity of party organs and organizations, the introduction of elections and the principle of mandate for the leading units and cadres, improving the discussions and forms of the struggle of opinions, and strengthening conscience discipline from top to bottom are constantly developing. Mastery of the art of political leadership is the basic factor of the party activity. This means overcoming administrative-edict methods of work and leadership, increasing the political and ideological culture of all Communists, and improving their comprehensive training and professional competence. The qualities of the Communists are taking on today new and higher value. The real Communist is the one who serves as an example in his work and in his social and personal life. He is the one who devotes his entire knowledge, work, and talent to improving the vanguard role of the party in the renewal of our society. This is the supreme criterium of the party-minded and principle-minded approach. Separation of the party and its functions from the functions of state, economic, social, and other organs and organizations is one of the basic ideas of the July Concept. This is a precondition for fulling understanding the depths of restructuring and

of the entire political system, and the life of our strengthening social civil society and the functions of our state as a low-governed state. The task posed by the July Concept is to construct a highly developed civil society, which is vitally open to everything new and which is able to ensure rich material and intellectual progress and implement the principles of humanity, justice, and man's free and harmonious development. Our civil society must ever more express itself through its so-called second nature i.e., through the social organizations and associations, in which the people are united according to their interests and possibilities to implement their talents and possibilities. This presupposes restructuring organizations such as the Fatherland Front, the Trade Unions, the Komsomol, the creative unions, the sports associations, and so forth.

The establishment of the Fatherland Front committees of the sociopolitical forces is an interesting and unique initiative in this respect. The important factor is to protect this initiative from cliches and to avoid the bureaucratization and formalization of the committees' activity. These committees must develop the socialist pluralism, which has its traditions in Bulgaria. Cooperation between the BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] and the existence of many public organizations and movements and religious and other communities, which implement their goals on the principles of restructuring—these are the foundation of this pluralism. We shall develop and enrich this pluralism. The political alliance between the BCP and the BZNS withstood the test of time, and proves its vitality to this day. It is a specific Bulgarian characteristic, a characteristic of our socialist development and the development of our state. Therefore we can say with total justification that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is an example of a socialist state with naturally developing political pluralism, which has deep historical roots, rich traditions, and lessons based on experience. We shall further develop and strengthen fraternity and unity between the BCP and the BZNS on the basis of restructuring. (applause)

The restructuring of our legal system has begun. The task is to construct a low-governed socialist state, which can defend and develop the achievements and values of our sociopolitical system. The forthcoming changes of the Bulgarian Constitution and BCP Statutes will have a significant share in transforming the political superstructure in Bulgaria. The unity of rights, obligations, and responsibilities in front of the law is a basic requirement, which must be consistently implemented in life, in all spheres of life, and at every work place, in order to implement our democratic designs. The main and essential factor, and the decisive and fateful element now is to encourage the unity of society, and its state of organization and cohesion around the policy of restructuring. This unity must be loyal to the socialist principles, ethics, and ideals. It must be a unity between rights and obligations toward the state and society and unity in human relations. This is that minimal requirement which determines the judicial, educational, and all other preconditions of our socialist state's social unity.

Restructuring in all spheres in our country now is taking place in an atmosphere of optimism, prompted by its initial results, and high patriotic and labor upsurge in anything related to harvesting our land's rich fruits. Ensuring the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the country's socioeconomic plan is a crucial political task and a matter of high civil consciousness and national honor.

It is necessary to provide vast opportunities for the people's initiative, for their creative power. The internal reserves of each company, each labor collective, and each settlement should be manifested through improved organization and stricter discipline.

Comrades, 9 September 1944 was achieved for the sake of a peaceful constructive life in our long-suffering and once backward country.

Nine September 1944 marked the beginning of the peace-loving foreign policy adopted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Our present-day foreign policy is determined by the essence and meaning of the line of the Party's April Plenum and of the July concept. These plenums opened up new opportunities for our foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems as an everlasting, irrevocable, and basic principle.

New political thinking asserted itself in international relations in recent years. Thanks to it, the positive trends in worldwide processes are prevailing today. The contribution of the CPSU and of its leadership, represented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, have earned historic credit for this cause. The dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States acquired a realistic and constructive meaning which leads to favorable results for the political atmosphere throughout the globe.

Despite the profoundly contradictory nature of our contemporary world and the differences between states, our world is mutually dependent and mutually interconnected in one real entity. New political thinking requires that the danger of thermonuclear and ecological disaster should be eliminated and that regional conflicts should be settled, that a world, free of nuclear weapons should be built up, a world in which cooperation and understanding should prevail.

Socialism is developing under the conditions of new realities which assign basically new tasks to the fraternal countries. Paths are opening for the consolidation of the positions of socialism and socialism is proceeding along these paths with optimism and a confidence in its own historical future.

The fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are cherished, inviolable, and tested by history. (applause).

At the latest meeting between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Mikhail Gorbachev, the common approach to restructuring the Soviet Union and Bulgaria was stressed anew and the necessity of searching for solutions likely to bring our political, economic, cultural, and other relations to a new level was pointed out. It is an objective requirement to strive for new forms of cooperation in accordance with the present and future. Such forms should enable us to work out a strategically oriented, structural, technological, and social change in our two countries' national economies, based on mutual interests. A new model of comprehensive cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union is being developed on the basis of mutual agreement. The friendship between our two countries is a cornerstone of the relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. We will continue to proceed side by side in the future. This is our unshakable stand. (applause)

CEMA is proceeding toward radical changes, toward a perfection of mutual cooperation among the member countries in accordance with our epoch. Basing ourselves on the principles of socialist internationalism, we will even more perseveringly work for the development and consolidation of the comprehensive, fraternal relations with all socialist countries on the basis of the new realities.

At the Bucharest Conference held in July 1989, Bulgaria with great conviction signed the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact member countries. This declaration contains important initiatives and proposals for a stable and safe Europe, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, for a considerable reduction of armed forces, armaments, and military expenditures. In the era of worldwide scientific-technical revolution, Bulgaria is interested in developing mutually advantageous cooperation based on equal rights with all states and in all spheres with the advanced capitalist countries and with developing countries in various regions of the world.

The peaceful breakthrough which involved the Balkans, as well, updated the image of political relations in our area. Bulgaria has made a definite and considerable contribution to the development of this process. Our country is the initiator and active supporter of vitally important relations for security and good neighborly relations, for the solution of global problems in the area. The idea of transforming our peninsula into a region free of nuclear and chemical weapons plays a role of crucial importance. Bulgaria also initiated the signing of a treaty for the ecological protection of the peninsula and the adoption of a series of measures for the reduction of military confrontation in the area. A number of meetings in Balkan capitals, and the Belgrade meeting of foreign ministers from Balkan countries, in particular, proved the existence of real possibilities for a constructive bilateral and multilateral cooperation among Balkan countries.

Our country is in favor of a political settlement of all controversial problems in the world, Europe, and the Balkans, including our problems with the Republic of Turkey. The Bulgarian-Turkish intergovernmental protocol that was signed with the Republic of Turkey in Belgrade last year is a solid basis for the establishment of an effective mechanism for settling problems between our two neighbor states.

We will further devote whole-hearted efforts to find a basis on which we may build up the Balkan story of the common European home. The whole question is not to forget the lessons of history, to take realities into consideration and respect mutual interests.

It is our view that only peace, security, and understanding can ensure the most favorable conditions for restructuring in our country.

Comrades, the tasks we are coping with today have the importance, the meaning, and character of a true revolution. The 9 September victory was a victory of the Bulgarian people, of the revolutionary ideas of our epoch.

The restructuring process for which our socialist society is striving today is a cause of the party and of the entire people.

In this solemn hour, the BCP Central Committee and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are paying tribute to the workers class, the working peasants, the people's intelligentsia, to our youths, and to the courageous protectors of our fatherland on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution and express ardent gratitude for their selfless efforts. (applause).

The essence of our faith is contained in the July Plenum strategy mapped out by our party. The creative role of the BCP and the efforts of our united, closely knit people are the guarantors for the implementation of this strategy. We will pursue the ideals of socialist revolution, namely, to build up Bulgaria as a highly developed and civilized state. We will all devote our labor, talents, and creative efforts to this goal.

May the 9 September victory live in the present and future deeds of socialist Bulgaria! (applause).

Jaruzelski Sends Greetings

AU1309175889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 p 3

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has received the following telegram from Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic:

Esteemed Comrade Chairman, on the occasion of the National Day of the People's Republic of Bulgaria—the 45th anniversary of the victory of socialist revolution—I convey sincere congratulations to the Bulgarian people and to you personally.

The longstanding friendly relations which link our two peoples together were consolidated and have been strengthened on the basis of the fundamental sociopolitical changes that began in our two countries 45 years ago as a result of the historical victory acheived by the USSR and the entire anti-Hitlerite coalition over German fascism.

The Bulgarian people's remarkable successes in their economic, scientific, and cultural development, and in restructuring the structures of social life according to the requirements of our epoch receive the respect and recognition of the Polish public.

We highly appreciate the constructive contribution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to international cooperation, to the joint actions of the socialist countries in the service of detente, the protection of European security, and the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

I express my profound confidence in stating that the relations of friendship and comprehensive Polish-Bulgarian cooperation will be successfully pursued in accordance with our two peoples' vital interests.

On the occasion of this remarkable anniversary, I pray you to accept my best wishes for further achievements in the development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for health and success in your personal life.

Rakowski's Congratulations

AU1309181689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 p 3

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has received the following telegram from Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee:

Esteemed Comrade Zhivkov, on the occasion of the National Day of the People's Republic of Bulgaria—the 45th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution—we convey to the fraternal Bulgarian people, to the BCP Central Committee, and to all Bulgarian Communists our most sincere congratulations and best wishes on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and on behalf of all our party members. The Polish Communists and all our society have great respect for your country's achievements in building socialism under the leadership of the BCP.

The cooperation between our two parties to this day has always contributed to the expansion and intensification of our bilateral relations in all spheres of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural affairs. We are convinced that the traditional friendship and cooperation between the PZPR and the BCP will continue to develop to the benefit of our two fraternal parties and to the advantage of the Polish People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

We wish you, the Bulgarian Communists, and the Bulgarian people further achievements for the benefit of all working people. Please also accept my best wishes for vigorous health and success in your personal life.

Greetings From Hungary

AU1309182489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]; Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers:

Esteemed comrades, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and on our people's behalf, we convey to you, to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as to the Bulgarian people our most sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your National Day—the 45th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution.

The Hungarian people are following with sincere interest and affection the constructive efforts of the fraternal Bulgarian people in building socialism and their aspirations for renewal and the development of socialist democracy. The Hungarian people highly appreciate the successes achieved in the construction of socialist society in Bulgaria, in the development of the national economy, and in the country's overall upsurge.

We sincerely rejoice in the idea that the traditional friendship between our two peoples is steadily developing, and that the extensive cooperation between our two countries serves our common goals and interests. On the occasion of your glorious National Day, we wish you and the fraternal Bulgarian people further successes in your country's prosperity.

Vietnamese Greetings

AU1309192689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the following telegram from Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee; Vo Chi Cong, president of the SRV State Council, and Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers:

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Bulgarian National Day, we would like to convey most sincere congratulations to you, to the fraternal Bulgarian people, to the BCP, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Over the last 45 years, in developing their unswerving, revolutionary traditions and their creative spirit, the Bulgarian people, under the leadership of the glorious BCP, with the efforts of their labor and in close alliance and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, have achieved great successes in the construction of socialism. Bulgaria today is a socialist country with developed industry and agriculture, with modern science and technology, with a rich national culture and an enhanced standard of living for the people.

With such great achievements and with its principled foreign policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria worthily contributes to increasing the power of the socialist community, consolidating security and cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe, to the peoples' universal and joint struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The Communists of Vietnam and our people greatly rejoice at these brilliant successes, and with all their hearts they wish the Bulgarian people the achievement of even greater, further successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and transforming Bulgaria into a developed socialist country, under the leadership of the BCP, headed by the esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

It is our wish that the traditional relations of friendship and overall cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples of Vietnam and Bulgaria may constantly strengthen and further develop.

Government Pleased With Mazowiecki Statement

LD1409150289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Miroslav Pavel, the head of the government Presidium press office, said that the federal government received with satisfaction Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's declaration to the Sejm of the government's program that Poland is ready to respect the adopted pledges of alliance and to continue developing cooperation with Czechoslovakia. He emphasized that the wide spectrum of traditional political, economic, cultural, and other relations of the two countries creates a good basis for this. He expressed the conviction that their further development, based on equality and sovereignty, will benefit not only the people of the two states, but it will also be the cause of understanding, security, and peace in Europe.

FRG Conveys Verbal Note on Malev Hijacking

LD1309135189 Prague CTK in English 1142 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn Sept 13 (CTK correspondent)—A representative of the West German Foreign Ministry conveyed a verbal note here Wednesday to Czechoslovakia's counsellor-minister to the FRG Ivan Kramar in response to the note of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry of March 30, 1989, calling for extradition of young hijackers of a Malev aircraft Stefan Macicko and Dusan Styk.

The West German note said that the FRG Government cannot give consent to extradition of the hijackers. West German authorities are of the opinion that their act falls within the FRG legislation as the hijackers violated West German laws.

The note further contains the text of the sentence on Stefan Macicko and Dusan Styk passed by the court in Frankfurt am Main on August 29.

The Czechoslovak representative pointed out that Czechoslovakia had asked the FRG several times for extradition of both hijackers. The Czechoslovak side had also fulfilled all conditions necessary for the extradition according to the FRG legal code. West Germany's response, however, came several months later after the Frankfurt court had passed an extremely indulgent sentence on both hijackers. Czechoslovakia is of the opinion that terrorism cannot be justified under any circumstances.

300 GDR Citizens Leave FRG Embassy for Home

LD1309211589 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] On the basis of the talks between the GDR and FRG representatives that were concluded today, and on the basis of the earlier guarantees offered by the GDR government to all its citizens—assuring them of the possibility of applying after their return home for permission to emigrate, guaranteeing their impunity, and getting their old jobs back—yesterday approximately 260, and today 40 more, GDR citizens left the embassy building and returned home.

At the FRG Embassy, (Allsteiner) informed us today that at the moment approximately 150 GDR citizens remain in the Embassy. The FRG mission in Czechoslovakia continues to be closed to the public and all matters concerning visa and other consular tasks will be handled through travel agencies.

It seems that the talks have created conditions for the disappearance of a tent camp right next to Prague Castle.

More on Departures

AU1409173789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 89 p 2

[Unattributed correspondent's report: "GDR Citizens Are Leaving the FRG Mission in Prague"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—On Tuesday [12 September], more than 250 GDR citizens who had been occupying the West German Embassy in Prague decided to return home. They left the embassy building after an official promise had been given to them that they would be able to apply for legal emigration. About 145 GDR tourists are still in the embassy building and have not yet decided to leave.

The departure of most refugees started after their talks with GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel. The talks were attended by Dieter Kastrup, head of the Political Affairs Department of the FRG Foreign Ministry.

Commentator Views GDR Refugee Exodus

LD1409230389 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Vaclav Kvasnicka commentary]

[Text] The exultant response of the ruling circles in Bonn and the West German mass media over the departure of East German citizens for West Germany has brought out some facts which are of great concern to all Europeans. More on that in the following comment by Radio Prague's Vaclav Kvasnicka.

Is it a coincidence that along with the wave of immigrants from the GDR, the Bonn government has once again raised the question of reunification of Germany? There are reports from Bonn that West German diplomatic missions in European countries were instructed to act in that way. The West German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, continues to misinterpret the political statement which he signed together with Mikhail Gorbachev in Bonn, expressing the readiness of the Soviet Union and West Germany to overcome the division of Europe. But

in Helmut Kohl's interpretation, this would mean to erase the border between East and West Germany by absorbing the GDR.

This attitude is also shared by the U.S. Administration, which says that the reunification of Germany has turned from theory to practice. The U.S. ambassador to Bonn has declared that the existence of two German states is not normal. According to the Deutschlandfunk radio station, the normalization of relations between the FRG and the GDR is doomed [as heard]. This dangerous attitude of Washington and Bonn could hamper the all-European process, which began at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975. Part of the process was the normalization of relations between the two German states, based on the agreement providing for all-round cooperation, and the principles of sovereignty and noninterference in the two countries' internal affairs.

The current tendencies in Bonn and Washington, connecting the wave of East German immigrants with the reunification of Germany, are a threat to the all-European process and affect all people living on this continent. At the same time, they confirm the allegations that the movement of East German refugees to the West was incited by the Federal Republic of German in order to discredit the GDR before the upcoming 40th anniversary of its existence, and to strengthen the West German influence there.

Bratislava Daily on Issue

LD1409092189 Prague CTK in English 0850 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Bratislava Sept 14 (CTK)—There are still people in the FRG who cannot reconcile themselves to the existence of the GDR and do not want to accept the political and territorial realities in Europe. They interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign states, violating the fruitful all-European cooperation on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act and other documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, today's Slovak daily PRAVDA said.

It can be already said that the exodus of the citizens has not been a spontaneous but a well prepared action. A great number of West German journalists and TV workers have arrived in the camps in the West German-Austrian border areas to give the necessary stress to this provocation against the GDR.

But the West German public is not as much enthusiastic as the press and some politicians. It points out that there are more [words indistinct] opportunities in the GDR and that the problem of unemployment in West Germany will aggravate. Under the slogans "Freedom" and "Human Rights" the West strives to discredit the GDR and weaken its position in the world, the Slovak PRAVDA said.

Normalizing Relations With Albania Proposed

AU1209190389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Proposal on Normalizing Relations With Albania"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [8 September] in Prague Pavel Sadovsky, CSSR first deputy foreign minister, received Idriz Drhami, charge d'affaires at the representative mission of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the CSSR, and informed him of the Federal Government's decision to publish the following statement:

The CSSR Government is of the opinion that maintaining a reduced level of diplomatic representation between the CSSR and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, a situation which arose in 1961 as the result of a decision made by the Czechoslovak side, represents an abnormal status in relations between our countries. The Czechoslovak side proceeds from the fact that keeping this anachronistic circumstance in force does not serve the development of mutual ties and, therefore, it regards as invalid the measures which were adopted in December 1961 to reduce the level of Czechoslovak-Albanian relations. It is of the opinion that no barriers to mutually advantageous and comprehensive cooperation for the benefit of the people of both countries, for peace, and for security in the world, exist. Proceeding from this fact, the CSSR Government is submitting a proposal to the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to fully normalize relations between both states on the basis of the principles of mutual benefit, equality, respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in internal affairs and to once more upgrade the mutual diplomatic representation between both countries to the level of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors.

Improved Ties Viewed

AU1409175189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 89 p 7

[Milan Jelinek commentary: "A Step Forward"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Government has proposed to the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania that relations between our states be fully normalized. Pavel Sadovsky, CSSR first deputy foreign minister, has informed Idriz Drhami, the Albanian charge d'affaires, of this decision, as we reported in Saturday's [9 September] edition of RUDE PRAVO. This is a deliberate step, corresponding to political realism, which results from the principles of our contemporary foreign policy. The Czechoslovak initiative toward Albania is a testimony to our efforts to implement mutual advantage and comprehensive cooperation in relations between the states, to confer with each other on and, as the case may be, jointly assert measures which lead to the strengthening of international security and the defense of peace.

Our view of the contradictory and, at the same time, integrated world rests in the fact that we want to build relations with states and peoples not on what divides us but, first and foremost, on what unites us. This applies all the more in relations with Albania, towards which our people have an ongoing friendly attitude, in relations with a country and people with whom we have traditionally had rich contacts at all levels. The Czechoslovak-Albanian rift, which led to a cooling down of mutual relations and to the drastic reduction in political contacts between both countries, developed in the years when ideological disputes and diverse views about the present and the future of the world were carried over into interstate relations. Each event has its specific historic causes, it takes place at a definite, specific time. December 1961 belongs to that time when the then Czechoslovak Government unilaterally decided to reduce the level of ties with Albania. Today we are richer by the experience and wiser by the years which have passed.

Socialist Czechoslovakia wants to remove all the obstacles preventing the development of relations with Albania, with a state which, in many ways, recognizes the same social values and aims as we do. We want to develop relations on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit, as the CSSR Federal Government's statement stresses. The upgrading of the mutual diplomatic representation between our states to the level of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors should open the door for new development of Czechoslovak-Albanian cooperation.

Hungary's 'Suspension of Agreements' Viewed

AU1409115889

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 September on page 7 carries the 250-word text of an MTI statement (the date of which is not given) explaining the Hungarian Government's motives for "temporarily suspending the validity of the relevant points of the intergovernmental agreement" between Hungary and the GDR from 1969 and allowing GDR citizens wishing to go to live in the FRG to leave Hungary. The statement is followed by the following "zr"-attributed passage: "As follows from the statement, the Hungarian Government has canceled some points of its agreement with the GDR on tourism, which have until now obliged both countries not to allow the citizens of the other country to travel to the West, unless they are in possession of a valid exit permit issued in their own country. Foreign observers commenting on this statement have been turning their attention, inter alia, to the formulation that the Hungarian Government 'decided to temporarily suspend the validity' of the aforementioned intergovernmental agreement between the Hungarian People's Republic and the GDR. They point out that this is not for the first time that the formulation 'to suspend temporarily' the validity of intergovernmental agreements turned up recently in connection with unilateral steps by the Hungarian Government."

Disagreement With Hungary on Exchange Rates

AU1309103389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Drafts of New Laws"]

[Excerpts] Prague—At a news conference organized by the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium yesterday, Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, and Deputy Minister Jaromir Matejka, secretary of the Government Committee for Planned National Economic Management, provided information on the government-sponsored drafts of four laws that were discussed by the CSSR Government yesterday. [passage omitted]

Asked about the situation with regard to the noncommercial exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna against some currencies of the socialist countries, Minister Stejskal said that the exchange rate of the zloty has been adjusted, to Kcs2.2 per Z100. Negotiations are underway about changing the exchange rate to Kcs1 per Z100. As regards the exchange rate of the koruna against the forint, it remains unchanged because the Hungarian side is pointing to the much higher number of Czechoslovak tourists traveling to the Hungarian People's Republic than is the number of Hungarian visitors to the CSSR. Jan Stejskal added that arbitrary changes of exchange rates are not possible between socialist states and that all changes must be negotiated. It is becoming apparent, however, that, in view of changes in price ratios in individual countries, it will be necessary to change the relevant agreements.

Daily Criticizes Hungarian TV Program

AU1409130689

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 13 September on page 2 carries a 1,000-word article by Frantisek Buda entitled "Fairness, Where Are You? A Komarno Teacher's Uncalled-For Encounter With Panorama." The article criticizes the authors of the Hungarian TV "Panorama" program for having given publicity to what PRAVDA describes as a forged letter by a Czechoslovak viewer and for failing to issue an apology.

According to the article, the incident concerns Engineer Ludovit Koncz, teacher at a vocational school in Komarno, who—as Panorama claimed in its program of 19 June—sent a letter to Hungarian television, in which he "welcomed" Panorama's earlier interview with Alexander Dubcek because it "allowed him to learn the truth." Buda notes that, in its program, PANORAMA showed a copy of the letter, which—as people who know Koncz well can confirm—was not written in the teacher's handwriting. Although, as Buda goes on to say, immediately after the broadcast Ludovit Koncz both telephoned and wrote a letter to the authors of the

Panorama program requesting that they make public his "disassociation from the authorship of the letter, in the interest of justice and ethics," they have not done so to this day. Buda criticizes the editors of Panorama for having failed to verify the identity of the author of the letter before going onto the air with it and for having failed to admit and correct their "blunder" later. He asks "How does this tally with the claim, so often noisily stressed in the program, that its makers' only concern is truth, nothing but the pure truth?"

Buda concludes his article by saying that the "dirty" intention of the real letter writer did not come off because Engineer Koncz "has not suffered any injury, if, of course, we discount the nervousness and unrest which such an incident carries into the life of every normally thinking and acting person." The "uncalled-for encounter" with the Panorama program did, however, Buda adds, "further enlarged the number of question marks which our citizens are raising in connection with this program. It proves—regrettably, not for the first time—that the respectability, fairness, and credibility of PANORAMA are decidedly lame, limping not only on one leg."

Reporting on USSR, Hungary, Poland Criticized

AU1409145689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Sep 89 p 4

[Statement by Pavel Ruzicka, civics teacher at the secondary agricultural school at Plasy, during the debate at the national teachers' conference held in Prague from 8 to 9 September: "Do We Know Students' Views?"]

[Text] The dynamism of current processes in the world and in our country is fast-paced. We teachers are also alarmed by various domestic political and economic problems and, perhaps most of all, by the situation in some socialist countries—in Poland, Hungary, but even in the Soviet Union itself. In secondary specialist schools we work with young people aged 14 to 18. If we want to get an idea about their views, we must, in my opinion, concentrate mainly on three problem areas: What is the attitude of young people toward restructuring in our country, what is their attitude toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and how do they evaluate the prospects of capitalism and socialism. According to my experience, the attitude of young people toward the process of restructuring is not such as we would like it to be. The causes are connected with our own educational work. On the other hand, we must not hold this against young people. At this age they lack practical experience of their own. Only social practice itself can deeply convince them. The evaluation of restructuring which they come across is also greatly divergent, in view of people's contradictory interests.

The attitude of young people toward Poland and Hungary is full of contradictions. Their assessment reveals superficiality. The decisive criterion for young people is "market strength," that is, what they can buy and how much it costs.

The attitude toward the Soviet Union has changed positively, in my judgment. Among young people the USSR has a higher informal prestige than it used to have. However, at present they can scarcely read anything positive about it in our press. Preference is given to the publication of information on the negative phenomena accompanying restructuring in the Soviet Union. I cannot believe that it is impossible to find other news items as well, news items that would help shape a more comprehensive and less one-sided idea about the situation in the Soviet Union.

A very serious question is the assessment of the prospects of socialism and capitalism. Young people are not yet capable of a deeper look at these complex issues, which is why their assessment is based on their own criteria. These are the aforementioned "market strength," the discrepancy between the level of economic integration in CEMA and the EC, and the ability to apply the results of science and technology. From the viewpoint of these criteria, the assessment of socialism by the young does not end up on a too favorable note.

For a teacher of civics to be able to do his job competently, he must first and foremost be well informed. I believe that the present situation with regard to the supply of information by the media is satisfactory only in terms of quantity. What is often lacking is an evaluating judgment. And a teacher cannot be impartial. I have also observed that the terms revisionism and opportunism, formerly applied so frequently in other contexts, seem to have disappeared from political terminology. I am of the opinion that even today it is necessary to call things by their real names.

Hajn-Led Party Delegation Leaves for USSR

AU1309114789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly from Home" column]

[Text] A delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Control and Auditing Commission led by Jaroslav Hajn, its chairman, left for a working visit to the Soviet Union yesterday. The visit is taking place at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The delegation will study the CPSU's experiences from the development of the party's control activity in the process of restructuring and will exchange findings acquired in implementing the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress.

Leaders Send Congratulations to Bulgaria

AU1309111789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Bulgaria"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, CSSR President Gustav Husak and CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on the occasion of their country's National Day:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Government, the Czechoslovak people, and on our own behalf we send you the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the Bulgarian people our sincere comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on the occasion of the National Day of the People's Republic of Bulgaria—the 45th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria.

The Socialist Revolution denoted a decisive landmark in the Bulgarian people's years-long struggle for national and social liberation and it laid firm foundations for a new and socially just society in Bulgaria. We appreciate the results which your people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, have achieved in all spheres of life during 45 years of building socialism and we are following with sincere interest the fulfillment of the bold conclusions of the 13th congress and the 10th nationwide conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has acquired great international authority by its high-principled and peaceful policy. Bulgaria's contribution toward strengthening the unity and solidarity of the states belonging to the socialist community, toward intensifying their collaboration within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and toward our common struggle for peace and progress in the world, is a significant one.

With a feeling of profound satisfaction we can today state that the traditional ties of friendship and comradely cooperation between both our fraternal parties, countries, and peoples are being successfully developed in harmony with the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We are convinced that the road of reconstruction and democratization of society, a road along which both countries have embarked, will contribute to further enhancing comprehensive Czechoslovak-Bulgarian ties, to intensifying the dynamism of mutually advantageous cooperation, and to increasing the attractiveness of socialism in the world.

On this significant day we wish you, dear Comrades and all the Bulgarian people, many new successes during the revolutionary restructuring epoch of Bulgarian society.

Fraternal Parties' Socioeconomic Meeting Begins

AU1409151389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Opening of an International Consultative Meeting"]

[Text] Prague—The 2-day international consultative meeting, involving the heads of socioeconomic departments of the Central Committees of the socialist countries' fraternal parties, commenced in Prague on Tuesday [12 September]. Some issues concerning contemporary socioeconomic development in the socialist community countries and the restructuring of the cooperation mechanism and socialist economic integration are being discussed at the consultative meeting. The discussions are taking place in a comradely atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding.

Ivan Knotek, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received the participants in the consultative meeting on the same day. He briefed them on the current economic and internal political situation in the CSSR. In a comradely discussion, he acquainted the consultative meeting participants with the results of party policy implemented after the 17th CPCZ Congress and with the CPCZ leadership's concrete approach toward issues of restructuring the economic mechanism in the spirit of the conclusions of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions. He also briefed them on the Czechoslovak Communists' preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

He stressed the need to find ways and means of expanding international cooperation, including establishing direct ties and setting up joint enterprises. In the speeches made by the representatives of the fraternal party delegations, specific suggestions for practical measures directed toward intensifying mutual cooperation were raised.

Tourist Condemns Italian Reports on Events

AU1409153289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 89 p 7

[Letter from C. Solano of Catania, Italy: "In the Interest of Truth"]

[Text] I am a 25-year-old man who has just returned to Italy from a vacation in Prague. I had the opportunity to be in the Czechoslovak capital from 17 to 22 August. After returning to Italy, I read the main daily newspapers

and became aware of the arrogant and dishonest press campaign orchestrated by my country's mass media against Czechoslovakia.

I think that the moral principles of truth and honor must be placed above political prejudices and, therefore, I consider it correct to note:

a) The surrealist atmosphere which prevailed in Prague prior to 21 August when many "tourists", unfortunately also Italians, came not with the desire to see the tourist sights (and there are many of them) of the Czechoslovak capital but rather with the aim of seeking a cheap adventure. It happened to me personally that on 20 August I meet a 40-year-old man on Wenceslas Square who calmly informed me of his intention to take part in the "uprising" planned for the following day.

b) I found myself on Wenceslas Square on 21 August and I noticed the participation, which in no way respected Czechoslovak sovereignty, of at least 200 foreign nationals among the no more than 400 "demonstrators" who were present on Wenceslas Square. I would like to bring your attention and the attention of RUDE PRAVO readers to the fact that present among them were a number of persons with "Front National" (a French neo-Fascist organization—editor's note) tattoos, dressed in fatigues, and with badges displayed on their jackets. This should make each democratic Italian, at least, think more before announcing some kind of solidarity with "demonstrators" on Wenceslas Square.

Instead of pointing to the presence of these individuals, some Italian political forces formed the theory of their "right to interfere" in Czechoslovak affairs as it turned out, for example, in an article which appeared on 22 August on the first page of L'UNITA, the Italian Communist Party daily, under the headline "Justified Interference." The article was signed by Sergio Stanzani, first secretary of the Radical Party.

c) The repeated provocations made against the Czechoslovak security services, which I personally witnessed, coupled with the insults, spitting, and throwing of coins, are definitely not a confirmation of the composed spirit which, allegedly, the participants of the "demonstration" had.

On the other hand, I noted just how high the level of maturity of Prague's citizens is, a maturity which isolated the groups of provocateurs and, thus, showed support for the Czechoslovak Government.

I was induced to write these lines by a feeling of necessity, correctness, and the certainty that I am providing some assistance, although very little, in reinstating the truth which was insulted and trodden upon by the lack of professionalism of those Italian journalists who wrote reports from Prague full of prejudices and untruths.

Foreign Minister, French Official Hold Talks

LD1409230789 Prague CTK in English 1953 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—International topics and Czechoslovak-French relations were discussed between Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and secretary of state attached to the minister for external relations, Edwige Avice here today.

The two sides appreciated the successfully developing relations between the two countries in tune with the results of the visit by President Francois Mitterrand to Czechoslovakia in December 1988.

Jaromir Johanes informed Edwige Avice of the process of restructuring in Czechoslovakia and its foreign political activities.

PCF Official Receives CPCZ Delegation in Paris

AU1409101289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 89 p 7

[Report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Maxime Gremetz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the French Communist Party Central Committee, received a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee delegation headed by Marek Venuta, deputy director of the CPCZ Central Committee International Policy Department, in Paris on Friday [8 September]. Issues concerning the further development of relations between both parties in connection with the preparation of a protocol on cooperation for the year 1990 were considered.

Assembly Delegation Returns From Denmark

LD1409224389 Prague CTK in English 1838 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—Danish parliamentary representatives have acknowledged that Czechoslovakia's economy is consolidated, they appreciated Czechoslovakia's fulfilment of international economic and other agreements and want to promote bilateral trade, Czechoslovak Federal Assembly First Deputy Chairman Jan Marko said here today.

Jan Marko headed a Federal Assembly delegation which returned home from Denmark today. He said in an interview on arrival the Danish partners respect the high standard of Czechoslovak culture, and stressed that mutual dialogue can be further intensified and Czechoslovakia and Denmark can become an example of how smaller countries can cooperate. He added that his talks with Danish parliamentary representatives had been open and constructive and brought positive results.

Jakes Meets With DPRK Party Official

LD1409213689 Prague CTK in English 1738 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes held talks here today with So Yun-sok, member of the Korean Workers Party Political Bureau and head secretary of the party committee in South Pyongan Province, who is on a visit to the North Bohemian region.

Milos Jakes voiced satisfaction at the expanding cooperation between the two parties and countries, pointing out possibilities of their further intensification, mainly in the economic sphere. He spoke of the importance of friendship ties between the regions and provinces of the two countries.

So Yun-sok spoke of the continuous efforts by People's Korea to create conditions for Korea's reunification. In this context Milos Jakes assured So Yun-sok of Czechoslovakia's constant support for the policy of People's Korea aimed at Korea's peaceful reunification.

So Yun-sok praised Czechoslovakia's results in building socialism and the principled policy of the Communist Party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He stressed the need to strengthen the forces of socialism and underlined in this connection the significance of solidarity People's Korea has been getting from Czechoslovakia.

The Korean party official had talks later in the day with Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart, concerning the present international situation and ways of promoting cooperation between the two parties.

Leaders Send Congratulations to DPRK

AU1309113989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "On the Occasion of the National Day of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, CSSR President Gustav Husak and CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and DPRK president, and Yon Hyong-muk, DPRK premier, on the occasion of their country's National Day:

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of your country's National Day—the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—on behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, the government and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and on our own behalf, we send you and all the Korean people our sincere comradely greetings and warm congratulations.

We appreciate the results which have been achieved by Korean workers, under the leadership of the Korean Workers Party, throughout the period of the existence of your republic while building a socialist society. We follow with great interest the efforts of the Korean people which are directed toward implementing the conclusions of your party's sixth congress and toward fulfilling the demanding tasks of the third 7-year national economic plan.

In Czechoslovakia we have a high regard for the DPRK's peace-loving foreign policy, which is illustrated by constructive initiatives aimed at reducing tension on the Korean peninsula and resuming a fruitful intra-Korean dialogue with the goal of creating favorable conditions for nationwide reconciliation.

We are firmly convinced that friendly cooperation between both our parties and states will, in the spirit of the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the DPRK, continue to be successfully developed to the benefit of the people of both our countries and in the interest of strengthening peace and improving international relations in the world.

We wish you, dear Comrades, and the fraternal Korean people continued success in your endeavors for the comprehensive development of the DPRK.

Foreign Minister Receives Cambodian Envoy

LD1309204989 Prague CTK in English 1705 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 13 (CTK)—Cambodian ambassador to Czechoslovakia Ung Sean was received here today by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes.

Ung Sean informed Jaromir Johanes of the conclusions of the international conference on Cambodia and the latest development in the country, particularly in connection with the forthcoming complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. At the same time he handed over to the Czechoslovak foreign minister an invitation from Cambodian Premier and Foreign Minister Hun Sen for Czechoslovak observers to participate in the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the country.

The Czechoslovak minister expressed full support for the policy of national reconciliation and other proposals made by the Cambodian state which are to ensure a peaceful solution to the conflict and stability in all South-East Asia.

Deputy Minister Meets Counterpart in Tehran

LD1509092689 Prague CTK in English 0831 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Tehran Sept 15 (CTK)—Consultations of deputy foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and Iran Evzen Vacek and Mohammad Hoseyn took place here on September 13-14 to discuss Czechoslovak-Iranian relations and international questions.

During his stay in Iran the Czechoslovak representative also met other Iranian politicians. These deliberations confirmed the mutual interest in a general development of relations of the two countries, particularly in the economic field.

Evzen Vacek was also received by first vice-president of Iran Hasan Ebrahim Habibi.

CSSR, PDRY Sign Legal Assistance Agreement

AU1309114989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A delegation from the prosecutor general's office of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY], headed by Chalid Oman Baguned [spelling of name as published], PDRY prosecutor general, ended its visit to the CSSR on Thursday [7 September]. During its visit, the delegation exchanged experiences from the work of both countries' prosecutors' offices. In accordance with the agreement between the CSSR and the PDRY on legal assistance in civil and criminal matters, the Principles for Cooperation Between the CSSR Prosecutor General and the PDRY Prosecutor General were signed.

Leaders Send Congratulations to Ethiopia

AU1309114389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Sep 89 p 1

["Congratulations on Your National Day; Czechoslovak Representatives' Telegram to Ethiopia"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, and Gustav Husak, CSSR president, sent a congratulatory telegram to Haile Mariam Mengistu, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia Central Committee, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, on the occasion of his country's National Day—the 15th anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution.

Among other things, the telegram states that the revolutionary victory in 1974 has become a prominent milestone in the Ethiopian people's struggle to build a socially just social system. We appreciate the results which Ethiopia has achieved in strengthening its revolutionary gains and in implementing important political and socioeconomic changes.

The extensive foreign policy activity of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is a significant contribution to the struggle against colonialism, racism, and apartheid, to the freedom and independent development of African nations, and to the endeavor for peace, security, and cooperation between the world's peoples. The new peaceful initiative to find a political solution to the Eritrean issue, in which we see a manifestation of great responsibility for the country's fate, has our full support.

The telegram highly praises the development of the many years of friendly ties between our parties and states, ties which were developed on the basis of the agreement on friendship and cooperation, and it expresses the conviction that mutual cooperation will continue to be expanded to the benefit of the people of both friendly countries.

On the same occasion, Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, sent a congratulatory telegram to Wodgeress Fikre-Selassie, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Madagascar Official Ends Visit, Departs

AU0909201989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "G. Rabesahala Has Departed"]

[Text] Gisela Rabesahala, general secretary of the Congress Party of Independence of Madagascar (AFKM), ended her visit to the CSSR on Wednesday [6 September].

Michal Stefanak, head of a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee department, bid farewell to her at Prague Airport.

Husak Receives Seychelles President

AU1309135689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Interest in Developing Relations"]

[Text] Prague—Gustav Husak, CSSR president, received France Albert Rene, general secretary of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front and President of the Republic of Seychelles, yesterday in Prague Castle.

In a friendly conversation, both statesmen exchanged views on topical issues of world development. It was confirmed that Czechoslovakia and the Republic of Seychelles have concurrent or close points of view on contemporary fundamental issues and that they are striving to adopt all the effective measures which would lead to the promotion of international trust and security and the preservation of world peace. This also creates

favorable conditions for more intensively developing mutual ties and cooperation in political, economic, cultural, and other spheres of social life.

Danielle de Saint Jorre, minister of planning and external affairs of the Republic of Seychelles, Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister for foreign affairs, and Frantisek Salda, director of the Chancellery of the President, participated in the reception.

Yesterday President France Albert Rene ended his unofficial working visit to the CSSR. Jozef Lenart, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, and other representatives bade farewell to him at Ruzyne Airport.

Communique on 7 Sep Government Session

AU1309102189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Holds Session"]

[Text] Prague— At its meeting on Thursday [7 September], the CSSR Government discussed four draft laws that are to be submitted to the CSSR Federal Assembly. They represent a fundamental step towards restructuring the economic mechanism from 1 January 1990.

The draft law on payments to the state budget makes use of the economic substance of payments as a financial instrument which defines, on the one hand, scope for the self-financing and entrepreneurial activity of economically accountable organizations and, on the other, lays down obligatory payments to the state budget for meeting the needs of the whole society.

The draft law on income tax, the draft amendment to the law No 172 of 1988 on the agricultural tax, and the draft amendment to the law No 116 of 1985 on conditions governing the activities in the CSSR of organizations with foreign participation create prerequisites for the self-financing of enterprises administered by national committees and of other economic organizations (housing, consumer, production, and other cooperatives; enterprises with a foreign stake in their ownership; the enterprises and economic establishments of social organizations; and so forth). The drafts proceed from the principle of overall financial balance under relatively equal taxation conditions for all organizations engaged in economic activity. They also create for the economic sphere the necessary stability for decisions on economic development.

The aim of the draft law on foreign exchange is to create conditions in the foreign exchange area for a more effective integration of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labor, for a balanced payments balance, and for the stability of the purchasing power of the Czechoslovak koruna with the aim of gradually achieving its convertibility and of safeguarding the protection of national interests.

The draft of the law on foreign exchange abandons the existing model of a predominantly administrative steering of the foreign exchange economy, replacing it with chiefly economic instruments. The basic instrument of management in this area is the foreign exchange plan, which forms part of the monetary plan. The principle of self-financing in foreign exchange will entitle Czechoslovak enterprises, after meeting their obligations toward the central source of foreign exchange, to spend their remaining foreign exchange on the development of their own entrepreneurial activity.

The draft law on banks and savings banks proceeds from the need to separate credit and commercial activities in the banking system from issuing activities. From the institutional viewpoint this means the subdivision of the Czechoslovak State Bank into a central bank and independent commercial banks. Under the draft law, banks and savings banks will operate as universal banks, on the basis of self-financing. Once the law is passed, legal and physical persons will not be limited by any administrative means in establishing commercial links and in the choice of their bank and savings bank.

The CSSR Government charged the premier with submitting the draft laws to the CSSR Federal Assembly for further constitutional discussion and the CSSR minister of finance with explicating the draft laws in committees of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

At the close of its meeting, the Government was informed about the state of work on drafting the state plan for 1990, about the course of the second round of talks on conventional armed forces and of the talks on confidence-building measures and security in Europe, and on the course and the results of the official visit to the CSSR by Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba.

Social Policy Commission Meets in Prague

LD1309122589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] A working draft of basic directions of the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia for the period 1991-1995, with an outlook up to the year 2005, was discussed in Prague today by the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee's Commission for Social Policy. Its members stressed the necessity of outlining more precisely the variations of mutual conditional links between economic development and the social needs of the population. The commission also discussed the working papers for the preparation of the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session, which will be held in October. These materials significantly direct the approach of the party and society toward the solution of topical tasks in the creation and protection of the environment.

Party Presidium on National Front Cooperation

LD1409221389 Prague CTK in English 1811 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium discussed at its session today some questions of further development of the Communist Party's cooperation with other political parties in the National Front.

The Presidium stated that the Communist Party will continue approaching these parties as its allies and independent units in creating, pursuing and controlling the policy of the National Front. It stressed that the Communist Party promotes alliance with them, based on principles of mutual respect and joint search for solutions to the present problems.

The Presidium discussed the principles of the activities of courts in ensuring observance of the rights and freedoms of citizens and fulfilment of their duties, including greater chances of reviewing administrative decisions by courts. In this context the Presidium stated that deepening socialist democracy and increasing the role of law in the life of society are an inseparable part of the restructuring process and a condition of its success.

Human Rights Committee Official Interviewed

AU1309155789

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 8 September on page 5 carries a 1,800- word interview with Zbynek Vokrouhlicky, LLD, candidate of sciences, deputy chairman of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, by Ota Reboun, entitled "For the Citizen and For Society." In the interview, the date and place of which are not given, Vokrouhlicky discusses the activities of his organization since its founding in December 1988.

Vokrouhlicky says that, in the first 9 months of its work, the committee has "succeeded in advancing in all the main spheres" of its work. "One of them," he goes on to say, "is the comparing of the Czechoslovak legal order with international documents on human rights that have been signed by the CSSR. When we arrive at the opinion that some Czechoslovak laws no longer correspond to the accepted commitments, we have the right to propose legislative changes. In the next few days, the committee will present to Federal Premier L. Adamec proposals for amending the laws on assembly and on association, whose legal codification, which dates from 1951, has become highly obsolete. The church legislation, which dates even as far back as 1949, also requires changes, in our opinion."

Asked how the new laws should differ from their predecessors, Vokrouhlicky then says: "Many Czechoslovak laws are phrased in too general terms and tend to end with the non-juridical formulation that the details are elaborated in decrees. With the help of the decree it is then possible to circumvent the law and even the Constitution. The aim, therefore, is to set forth in the law all conditions so that the law's interpretation is not left to the discretion of executive bodies. British law, for example, bans any demonstration within 1 mile of Parliament. He who violates this ban must be prepared to face the consequences. An analogous law in France entitles the city administration to determine the route and the time of a demonstration. The Helsinki documents, too, make it possible to limit the exercise of a right if public order or the rights of other citizens are threatened. However, the conditions are always clearly set forth. This must also be done in our country, in our opinion."

Speaking about the committee's work, Vokrouhlicky says that, so far, it has received some 4,500 written requests and complaints. Moreover, its premises are visited by 10-15 people every day. Most requests and complaints reportedly concern humanitarian questions, such as uniting families abroad or getting permits to visit those who have left Czechoslovakia. According to Vokrouhlicky, "roughly 70 percent of the cases are settled successfully." He notes, however, that there are cases in which the committee is unable to help, "especially when those familiar with state secrets or people with a criminal record are concerned." Asked why the successfully settled cases could not be resolved earlier, Vokrouhlicky says that "experience from these cases shows how palpably an administrative court, or some other independent body to which one could appeal, is lacking in this country. Today when you submit an application to the national committee and lose, the only place where you can complain is again the national committee. It may be for this very reason that citizens are turning to us at present with many complaints that have nothing to do with human rights, with complaints that should be dealt with by someone else."

In the remaining parts of the interview, Vokrouhlicky answers questions about the committee's apparatus (he replies that members of the committee work on a voluntary basis and that its only paid staffers are two clerks in charge of correspondence and two retired lawyers working part-time); about the financing of its activities (contributions from National Front organizations, proceeds from the committee's own publishing activity, plus donations); about its relationship with official Czechoslovak institutions and organizations (apart from "a certain lack of support from some local bodies," the committee is said to have encountered "full understanding" for its work); and about its contacts with foreign human rights organizations.

Dissident Ordered To Serve 2-Month Prison Term

AU1409120889 Paris AFP in English 1146 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Prague, Sept 14 (AFP)—Sacha Vondra, a spokesman for the Charter 77 human rights organization

here, was ordered Thursday to serve a two-month prison term after a Prague court reversed his initial suspended sentence, his friends said.

Mr. Vondra, 28, was originally given the two-month suspended sentence for taking part in a demonstration last January. It was held to commemorate the death 20 years ago of the young student, Jan Palach, who set himself on fire to protest the Soviet military crackdown that ended the Prague Spring liberalization movement.

On Monday, however, a Prague court changed its mind on the grounds that the 28-year-old dissident had not respected his parole conditions, the friends said.

The letter he received Thursday ordered him to show up at a Prague prison within three days and ruled out any possibility of appeal. He served a week of preventive detention which was to be knocked off his term.

The court said Mr. Vondra has not held any regular employment for more than six months, though he has charged that he was dropped from a training program under pressure from police.

He was also reproached for helping initiate a petition demanding "true" democratization for Czechoslovakia that has been signed by more than 20,000 Czechoslovaks since June.

Gorbachev Visit Announced for 40th Anniversary

LD1409174489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The leading Soviet politician, Mikhail Gorbachev, intends to visit the GDR on the 40th anniversary of the Republic's foundation [7 October]. This was said today after a meeting in Berlin between Guenter Mittag, a member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Yegor Ligachev, CPSU Politburo member. This announcement was received with gratitude and pleasure.

During the meeting, both politicians agreed that the stable and dynamic development of the GDR was of considerable importance for socialism as a whole. The GDR's progress would continue to go hand in hand with the further consolidation of its relations with the USSR. Ligachev condemned the campaign by some mass media and certain circles in the FRG. Chauvinistic people do not want to accept political and territorial realities. The absurd idea of annexing the GDR has still not been renounced. It had to be clear to these circles that the GDR is an inseparable member of the Warsaw Pact as well as a loyal friend and ally of the USSR. The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the two states will be strictly adhered to by the Soviet Union. Ligachev stated that all those who wish to encroach upon the sovereignty and independence of the GDR must be aware of this.

Mittag Tells Workers Honecker 'Doing Well'

LD1409220489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1651 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At their 14th conference in the Palace of the Republic, 4,200 Best Workers today discussed new initiatives in socialist competition.

At the start of his winding-up speech, Guenter Mittag conveyed warmest greetings from Erich Honecker, which were received with great pleasure. Guenter Mittag said in this connection: Yesterday I again had the opportunity to speak with Erich Honecker. He is doing well, and we can assume that he will soon take up his work again to the full extent. The general secretary is firmly convinced that the Berlin working people will prepare for the 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] party congress with new and great deeds of work, Mittag said. This helps to continue the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy. It brings advantages for every individual and it strengthens the republic.

The stronger socialism is, the more secure is peace, Mittag said, pointing to the decades of experience. "Nothing and no one will deflect us from this path. To do everything possible for the happiness and well-being of the people and their peaceful future was, is, and will remain, for our party and for all of us, the meaning, content and purpose of our common work. Socialism is as good as we make it day by day with our good work."

This advance along the path indicated by the SED determines the development dynamic in the GDR, Guenter Mittag said. It is part of the great and good experience of the 40 years of the GDR that "in the building and the fashioning of the most humane of all social systems no one is able to stop us, no matter how strenuous the efforts of the opponents are and no matter how strong his attacks on the socialist GDR. There will never ever be a return to capitalism."

Guenter Mittag said that in the GDR, now and in the future, every citizen is and will be able to lead a dignified life in safety and security. The GDR is, he said, the greatest achievement of the German workers' movement. Nothing and no one can eliminate it from the world. Anyone who tried will fail like all those before him—the prophets of its demise, the rabble-rousers, the slanderers, the enticers and other enemies of the republic.

Guenter Mittag referred to the main points of economic development, pointing to a necessary growth in the national income by an annual 4 percent, a marked increase in labor productivity, an economic use of energy, raw materials and materials, higher valuta proceeds in exports, and the need to continually produce more and improved consumer goods and to sell them in the retail trade in a customer-friendly way. "Increasing performances so that the continually rising demands of people can be better met and everyone can buy something good for himself for well-earned money—this is one of the basic tenets of the unity of economic and social policy."

In this connection the speaker dealt in detail with consumer goods production in Berlin industry, with questions concerning the retail trade and supply. It is gratifying that the Berlin enterprises were able to exceed the plan up to the end of August and achieve a plan lead of almost M 80 million. Unfortunately, however, this positive result was diminished by enterprises with Plan—and contractual shortfalls.

The GDR gave everyone a secure future, irrespective of his party affiliation, ideology or religious confession. In this connection the speaker also took issue with all those in the FRG who constantly give us unsolicited "advice" for reforms. He referred to the large number of reforms which have been carried out in the GDR and stated: "The proposals for reform from these people are concerned with one thing only: They want the sort of reform which eliminates socialism. Thank you very much for that. That will not be the case."

Our state's political stability and economic dynamism makes some circles in the FRG quite livid, said Guenter Mittag, hence the raving attacks against the GDR, against socialism. Hence incitement and slander. Hence the constant attempts at interference in our internal affairs. "Our standpoint is: No more than ever, everything for the strengthening of the GDR."

Guenter Mittag added: "As always, in our 40 years of militant history we respond to the attacks by the imperialist class opponent offensively. He has always underestimated the political and moral potential of socialism. He has always suffered heavy defeats."

We continue to work actively at the side of the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and all forces of reason and realism for detente, disarmament and the peaceful coexistence of the peoples, the speaker said. He spoke out in favor of good-neighborly relations with the Federal Republic on the basis of the concluded treaties, in particular the stipulations in the joint communique marking Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG. "We are however strongly opposed to revanchism and neo-Nazism. We are opposed to the assumptions of a 'caring duty' and to the desire for a Germany in the borders of 1937."

In all political questions one must proceed from the basis of the reality of the existence of two independent sovereign German states, which can be united as little as fire and water. Recognition of these facts is a decisive precondition for relations between the GDR and the FRG developing further to mutual benefit and contributing to stability in Europe.

Beforehand Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the SED Berlin Area Executive, had underlined in his speech that the conference is an appropriate forum to give expression to the readiness and the will of the working people of Berlin to further strengthen all aspects of the socialist peace state on German soil through their own high performances. In this way the current anti-communist excesses of FRG media and politicians are also answered in the only correct way.

The speaker dealt in detail with reasons for the current bout of mud-slinging unleashed against the GDR. It is necessary to look at things as they really are. Some people in Bonn cannot get over the ongoing failure of their revanchist illusions vis-a-vis the GDR. Forty years of the GDR—that means 40 times 365 days of the failure of the conspiracy, of the attacks, at the attempts to isolate the GDR, of the calumny that is constantly being directed at the GDR by the FRG. On the subject of the anachronistic "duty to care," which is contrary to international law, that Bonn takes upon itself with regard to GDR citizens, Guenter Schabowski noted: "They are once again gripped by the Hallstein syndrome, the chronic disorder of the FRG policy."

The GDR, that is, socialism on German soil, is so unpalatable for imperialism because it signifies the changing of the guard for its outdated system. Behind this lurks the exploiters' primeval fear that their subjects could become independent. Even worse, they could do things better, as the results of the SED's reform policy, which did the people justice, showed. That can only strengthen the working people of the GDR in making the vitality of socialism even more evident and palpable through their work. Lending a hand to make orderly whatever is not yet orderly is something we can only do ourselves. But it is precisely socialism, our socialist democracy that provides us with all the possibilities for that.

With the rabble-rousing vis-a-vis the GDR, the speaker said, the intention is to force the question of the guaranteeing of peace and the responsibility of the FRG for this, off the political agenda, onto which Erich Honecker had so expressly placed it when he visited the FRG in 1986. The bugbear that the "lie about a threat" constituted, has been crushed. The world conscience, the state of mind of the masses is—even in the NATO countries—turning against any further turning of the armament screw.

In this situation the incit ment against the GDR is a calculated attempt to create a diversion, in the slipstream of which new armament facts are to be created. The GDR will not the loosen the grip it has had on Bonn for a long time for the purpose of ensuring that Bonn fulfills its own responsibility for peace and security in Europe. It will not allow itself to be diverted from the line of the constructive, level-headed search for solutions to complex and conntentious questions, in the interests of peace and security of our continent, by the rabble-rousing of the other side.

Guenter Schabowski emphasized the leading role of the SED in socialist society, which is being implemented in harmony with the interests of the people and in close liaison and consultation with the working people through the formulation of the strategy, of the perspectives of social development. It must be possible to equip the people politically, morally and with know-how so that they can strengthen their self-confidence in order to be in a position to recognize their responsibility for society as a whole and to act accordingly. The leading role of the party therefore consists, quite in contrast to the horse-trading role of the bourgois parties in capitalism, in the production of the fully fledged socialist citizen. The aim and meaning also of the ideological work of the party are embodied in him.

During the discussion 12 speakers reported on results of work, new initiatives and projects in their collectives as well as on possibilities of tapping reserves.

Sindermann Cancels SPD Visit to GDR

LD1509123389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1149 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—ADN has learned that Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, addressed the following message to Professor Dr Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] Bundestag group:

"The remarks you made at yesterday's international news conference in Bonn about the Bundestag group's visit and SPD Chairman H.J. Vogel's Bundestag remarks

yesterday afternoon clearly indicate that the SPD Bundestag delegation's visit, which was agreed on in spring of this year, does not serve the agreed aims of promoting dialogue in the interests of peace and security and equal cooperation between the two German states, but is directed wholly at confrontation and direct interference in the German Democratic Republic's internal affairs.

"The contents of the two aforementioned statements are directed against the agreements between the SED [Socialist Unity party of Germany] and SPD on the need for a struggle to preserve peace and are insulting and provocative in form. A trip of this nature would not serve the basic interests of peace and cooperation but would be aimed solely at raising tensions.

"Thus it must be stated that Prof Ehmke and H.J. Vogel's remarks have in themselves made the trip inappropriate. Therefore the visit cannot take place."

FRG 'Campaign' Criticized

LD1409163189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1359 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Halle (ADN)—With the presentation of a panoramic picture of the Peasants' War painted by Professor Werner Tuebke in Bad Frankenhausen today, the GDR commemorated the outstanding personality of the extreme left-wing of the early bourgeois German revolution, Thomas Muentzer, whose legacy has been fulfilled in the GDR socialist society. [passage omitted]

The rally participants welcomed with hearty applause the Politburo members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee—Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and deputy chairman of the State Council; Hans-Joachim Boehme, first secretary of the Halle SED Area (Bezirk) Executive; and Kurt Hager, secretary of the SED Central Committee; as well as other public figures.

Kurt Hager stressed the outstanding work of the painter Werner Tuebke, who created a unique work of art with his monumental portrayal of the early bourgeois revolution in Germany. There are few comparable works in world art. Kurt Hager conveyed to the participants at the rally and the working people of Halle Area cordial greetings from Erich Honecker.

Turning to current political questions, the speaker said: Like the enemies of the peasants in 1525, leading FRG forces, opponents to progress, are acting against the spirit and letter of the treaties and agreements concluded between the FRG and the GDR. They are taking on a "caring duty" for all Germans, refuse to respect GDR citizenship and are conducting an unbridled campaign against our republic in the media.

The GDR adheres to the commitments arising from the Basic Treaty with the FRG, from the agreement between Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl, as well as to international agreements stipulating quite clearly respect for the sovereignty of each state, the inviolability of their borders and non-interference in their internal affairs, said Kurt Hager. He decribed this as an important precondition for normal relations and peaceful relations between the GDR and the FRG. It is to be hoped that the FRG too, will finally be guided by these priniciples of international law and not by pan-German imperialist ambitions.

Comments on FRG Media

AU1409133389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by ADN correspondent Horst Schaefer: "The Fuss of the Media and the Realities"]

[Text] Passau—After the fuss of the FRG media and politicians about "D-Day," the GDR citizens who have been illegally wooed away at the dead of the night are left to their fate. Most of the several hundreds of reporters and cameramen have lost any interest in these people. The "show goes on somewhere else," said the employees of a television company who had transformed rooms in a hotel in Passau into television studios and thus brought the total power supply to a standstill.

On Tuesday [12 September] the FRG press still flooded its readers with stories containing the whole range from overflowing sentimentality to militant nationalism. Nothing was cheap and tasteless enough for many media representatives.

Thoughtful comments were rare in the FRG media reports, which were characterized by hatred for the GDR. For example, ZDF television reporter Hirsch stated after talks with numerous "refugees": "After the adventurous trip, many gradually realize what they have let themselves in for." Under the eloquent headline "Balloons for the Compatriots from the Other Side," the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG quotes a border official: "But who will care for them after some weeks when the whole fuss will have been forgotten and everyday life will start again?" The STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN also asks: "What will come after the fuss of the media?" How much attention will remain when the cameras will be packed up and the reporters leave?

As early as their arrival in the Bavarian reception camps, the people who had been wooed away had to realize that it was not possible to give them a firm assurances about either a place to live or jobs. Even the free choice of a place in the FRG which had been promised to them before was considerably restricted. Most of them would also not have a chance to work in the jobs for which they had been trained, it was pointed out to them. There were labor exchange counters in the camps, but their main purpose was to register them as unemployed, the former GDR citizens learned.

On their arrival in the reception camps, the "refugees" were also presented with a special edition of the PASSAUER NEUE PRESSE with labor exchange offers of

allegedly available jobs in the FRG. At the same time, they heard from counselors of the labor exchange district that 6,100 citizens had not found a job there in August. In Lower Bavaria alone, there are almost 24,000 unemployed. After the "special job offers" for former GDR citizens had become known, local unemployed people inquired at the labor exchanges in Passau and Deggendorf why the authorities do not make such efforts to accommodate those who have been unemployed for a long time in the first place and to carry out such spectacular propaganda actions as for the newcomers.

The hopes of the GDR citizens wooed away for apartments of their own were considerably dampened by a report on the PASSAUER NEUE PRESSE that the housing shortage in the town of the three rivers is the same as in big cities. For years, Passau has waited for a government loan of DM2.5 million to construct only 18 publicly financed apartments. Government representatives also admitted that not only in Passau, but also elsewhere in the FRG, there are even problems to find a makeshift accommodation for the "refugees." In view of the lack of more than 500,000 kindergarten places, the government representatives were also not able to positively answer their questions about care for their children in kindergartens.

On Tuesday [12 September] the Munich ABENDZEITUNG was published under the headline spreading over several columns "The Speculation About Millions: Whom Did Bonn Pay and How Much?"

As repeatedly stated here, with the action at the dead of the night to woo away the GDR citizens in Hungary and the fuss of the media about it, undoubtedly many people in the political scene in Bonn also pursued the aim to supplant the mass protests in the FRG against the continued arms buildup and permanent mass unemployment in public discussions.

Hager Criticizes FRG

LD1409171989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1508 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Halle (ADN)—The socialist workers' and peasants' state in the GDR is deeply committed to all revolutionary and humanist traditions generated by the German people in its long and varied history. This was stated by Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member Kurt Hager today as he unveiled the monumental panoramic picture of the early bourgeois revolution in Germany by Prof Werner Tuebke in Bad Frankenhausen (Halle area bezirk).

Kurt Hager went on to say that a free class of cooperative farmers who determine their own destiny and make an important contribution to the welfare of the entire people through their work exists in the GDR. Like the enemies of the peasants of 1525, leading FRG forces—opponents of progress—are today working against the spirit and letter of the treaties and agreements concluded between the GDR and the FRG as well as important stipulations under international law. They are taking on a "caring duty" for all Germans, they refuse to respect GDR citizenship, and they are conducting unbridled incitement and defamation in their television and radio stations and in the press against the GDR in a cold war fashion. The reconstruction work of socialism in the GDR is a thorn in the eye of the reactionary, conservative, neo-Nazi and revanchist forces in the Federal Republic who are intent on turning back the wheel of history.

They repeatedly claim that the "German question" is open because they dream of eliminating the socialist state on German soil in one way or another. They dream of being able to eradicate all the achievements of socialism in the GDR: public ownership in the enterprises, cooperative ownership by cooperative farmers, free education and health service, upbringing in the spirit of anti-fascism, and peace and policies for the welfare of the people. These are dreams by the gentlemen on the Rhine and Ruhr that can never be fulfilled, he stressed.

There will be no deviation from socialism or restoration of capitalist conditions in the GDR. Those who delude themselves about the capitalist society that exists in the FRG and other states will get to know its afflictions when they are confronted by the labor rat race, disregard for trade union rights, unemployment, homelessness, poverty, violation of human rights, and other evils. FRG politicians and journalists are increasingly linking the talk about the "Open German Question" and "overcoming division of Germany" with the demand for a Germany within the borders of 1937, the speaker stated. Those who talk about eliminating the postwar order in Europe and restoring the borders of 1937 are playing a dangerous, peace-threatening game. Disregarding borders would not only result in a violation of the GDR's sovereignty, and in territorial claims on Poland and the Soviet Union, but would also jeopardize peace in Europe and the world.

Health Minister Meets Uzbek Counterpart

AU1209131289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR Health Minister Met Uzbek Counterpart"]

[Text] Tashkent (ADN)—During the week of GDR medicine in the USSR, GDR Health Minister Prof Dr Klaus Thielmann met with his Uzbek counterpart Prof Dr Shidzhalag Bakhramov in Tashkent on Wednesday [6 September]. Minister Thielmann reported on the preparation of the 40th anniversary of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress and on the forthcoming GDR national health conference.

Jarowinsky Attends USSR Envoy's Banquet

AU1309074589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Friendly Meeting in the Soviet Embassy"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [7 September] Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, gave a banquet in honor of the Soviet Government delegation to the Leipzig Fall Fair. The following persons attended the friendly meeting in the embassy residence in Unter den Linden: Werner Jarowinsky, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Central Committee secretary; Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission; Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Harry Ott, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Werner Scheler, president of the Academy of Sciences; and others.

Vyacheslav Kochemasov paid tribute to the dynamic development of the GDR's national economy, whose constant progress is impressively demonstrated by the exhibitions at the fair. Leipzig also demonstrates the increased cooperation between the combines, enterprises, and associations of the GDR and the USSR in mutual interest. The ambassador stressed the importance of perfecting cooperation in line with the agreements concluded by the leading representatives of the two countries, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev. He wished the GDR working people further success on the path toward the 40th anniversary of the republic and stressed the value of fraternal cooperation in all fields.

Moscow Trade Union Delegation Makes Visit

AU1409162989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Sep 89 p 8

[ADN report: Moscow Delegation Visits Innovators"]

[Text] Following an invitation by the bezirk leadership of the Berlin Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], a delegation of the Moscow City Trade Union council, including 80 innovators and rationalizers, arrived in the capital of the GDR on Monday [11 September]. The visit of this delegation, which is headed by City Council Chairman Valentin Lavrishchev, is a continuation of the exchange of experience concerning the work of innovators and the political management of this work by trade union and state leaderships, which was initiated during the Berlin Days in Moscow. In an exchange of experience with Annelis Kimmel, chairwoman of the FDGB bezirk leadership, the participants in the talk emphasized the usefulness of such meetings for enhancing cooperation between the trade union organizations of the two countries.

During their visit the guests from Moscow will conduct talks with trade union officials and innovators in 18 partner enterprises in Berlin, and will meet with young innovators at the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow.

German Red Cross Delegation Visits USSR

AU1409144989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Sep 89 p 5

[AND report: "German Red Cross Delegation Visits Soviet Union"]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Since Monday [11 September] a delegation of the German Red Cross of the GDR, headed by its president, Prof Dr Gerhard Rehwald, has been paying an official visit to the Association of the Red Cross Organizations and the Red Crescent of the USSR. During its 4-day visit, the delegation is to discuss further cooperation and the deepening of friendly relations between the two organizations, as well as topical questions of the international Red Cross movement.

Beijing's Cultural Days Opened in East Berlin

AU1309092989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Sep 89 p 1

[ND report: "'Beijing Cultural Day in Berlin' Open"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—On Thursday [7 September] "Beijing's Cultural Days in Berlin," which will last until 15 September, were opened with the exhibition "Textile and Light Industry" at the television tower. The opening was attended by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk SED leadership; Erhard Krack, mayor of Berlin; Wu Yi, deputy mayor of Beijing and head of the Chinese delegation; and Zhang Dake, PRC ambassador extraordinary and plenipoetntiary to the GDR. In his opening speech, Erhard Krack referred to the longstanding fraternal affinity between the peoples of China and the GDR, which will both celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of their states next month. We will celebrate these historic events toegther, Krack said. [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Comments on Summit

LD1209230789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR welcomes the resolutions adopted by the ninth non-aligned summit in Belgrade on the stabilization of peace, the democratization of economic relations and on the solution of other global problems. This was stated by the spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, in an interview with ADN.

The GDR also sees securing peace and reducing nuclear weapons as the main task of the present. Only by averting a nuclear holocaust, by ending the arms race and by

disarmament in the nuclear and conventional field can the efforts to strengthen economic independence and remove the remnants of colonialism be successful.

The GDR shares the concern expressed in the declaration about the recent loss of impetus in nuclear disarmament, Ambassador Meyer went on to say, and agreed with the view that nuclear and conventional disarmament cannot be implemented unless all international forces cooperated.

The GDR continues to stand in firm solidarity by the side of those countries struggling for an end to inequality in international economic relations, for the creation of a new international economic order. In the same way, it supports the demands made in the final statement for decisive measures to preserve the natural environment and the ecological balance. It sees an indivisible link between these efforts and the struggle for disarmament and arms control, which will also lead to the release of considerable funds for the solution of global problems, the speaker stressed. The GDR will continue to support all the initiatives undertaken by the member states of the Nonaligned Movement which promote a policy of cooperation and dialogue in international affairs in the interests of detente and peace.

The results of the ninth summit of the Nonaligned Movement, embodied in the Belgrade Declaration and in the resolutions, have, the GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman concluded, once again affirmed the significant role of this movement, which was founded 28 years ago in the Yugoslav capital, as an independent, indispensible and influential factor in world politics.

Socialist Customs Officials' Conference Opens

AU1409144289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Directors of Customs Authorities Convene in Tabarz"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 30th conference of the directors of customs administrations of socialist states in Europe, Asia, and America opened in Tabarz on Monday [11 September]. It will deal with the exchange of experiences on topical questions of deepening cooperation.

Albanian Telecommunications Official Visits

AU0809151889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Talks on GDR-Albanian Cooperation"]

[Text] East Berlin—Rudolph Schulze, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister for posts and telecommunications, received Toli Halili, director general for posts and telecommunications of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, for friendly talks in Berlin on Tuesday [5 September]. In the course of their talk, both sided declared their will to further continue the development of bilateral relations in the field of posts and telecommunications.

During its visit to the GDR, the Albanian delegation will visit facilities of the posts and telecommunications sectors, and sign a government agreement.

Honecker, Stoph Greet Bulgarian Leaders

AU1309112189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Sep 89 p 1

[ND report: "Fruitful Friendship Between GDR and Bulgaria; Greetings on the 45th Anniversary of the Socialist Revolution"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of lthe People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Dear Comrades,

On the 45th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, we convey to you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria most cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the GDR people. On 9 September 1944 a historic change in the history of the Bulgarian people was initiated and the way toward a new future was opened up to them. Under the BCP's leadership, your country overcame its backwardness after a relatively short period and paved the way for social progress. Today the Bulgarian people are able look back on the very impressive development of its socialist homeland. With the social restructuring that has been initiated now, the BCP is taking up the challenges of our time to perfect and strengthen socialism. The citizens of our Republic follow the Bulgarian working people's respective efforts with sympathy.

In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making an active, internationally recognized contribution to the worldwide struggle for peace and disarmament, as well as for security and disarmament in the Balkans.

The fact that, inspired by the SED and the BCP, the friendship between our states and peoples becomes increasingly stronger and fruitful fills us with deep satisfaction. The fraternal cooperation in all fields of

social life strengthens and enriches socialism in our two countries, as provided for by the treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance of 14 September 1977. We are convinced that the relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which are characterized by concurrent interests and objectives will further develop and deepen for the benefit of our peoples.

We wish you, dear Comrades, and all the working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria much success and creative vigor in the implementation of your ambitious objectives and the further shaping of the socialist society, as well as good health and well-being.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph,

Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Axen Holds Talks With Poland's Kubasiewics

AU1309165289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "SED and PZPR Cooperate on a Trusting Basis"]

[Text] Berlin—Hermann Axen, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], held friendly talks on Sunday [10 September] with Janusz Kubasiewicz, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

Referring to the Berlin mass rally in memory of the victims of fascism, during which both partners in the talks had taken the floor in the morning, they unanimously stressed that 50 years after World War II had been unleashed the GDR and the Polish People's Republic can proudly point to a continuous peace policy, that is rich in initiative. Its most important elements include the Oder-Neisse border of friendship, the close alliance, and the comprehensive relations between the two neighboring countries.

With the basic change in the relationship between the two peoples which occurred in the course of the socialist revolution under the leadership of the SED and the PZPR, the legacy of the victims of fascist terror has been fulfilled, and an achievement was attained that has been of historic significance for the citizens of both countries and which has ensured peace in Europe on the basis of the countries' sovereignty, the inviolability of their borders, and their territorial integrity.

The partners in the talks stressed that the SED and the PZPR would continue to deepen their trusting cooperation on all levels, in the interest of socialism for the two peoples' benefit. In doing so, both parties attach particular importance to the continuous development of the well-tried, mutually advantageous, comprehensive cooperation between both countries and their governments.

People's Army Delegation Ends Visit to Austria

AU1309135789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "NVA Delegation Ends Visit to Austria"]

[Text] Vienna—The delegation of the National People's Army [NVA], headed by Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the NVA Main Staff, concluded a several-day visit to the Republic of Austria. The delegation, which had been invited by General Othmar Tauschitz, troop inspector general of the Austrian Army, was given the send-off in a military ceremony at Klagenfurt Airport.

On behalf of Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister for national defense, Colonel General Streletz invited General Tauschitz to visit the GDR and the National People's Army together with an official Austrian Army delegation . The invitation was accepted.

Finland's Koivisto Receives Guenther Maleuda

AU1209141389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Finland's President Koivisto Received GDR Politician"]

[Text] Helsinki (ADN)—On Thursday [7 September] Finland's President Mauno Koivisto received Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, in his official residence in Helsinki for a talk. Guenther Maleuda conveyed the personal greetings and good wishes from GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker, which were returned very cordially by Mauno Koivisto.

The exchange of views focused on questions of the safeguarding of peace, disarmament, detente, and cooperation. The processes under way in these fields have to be purposefully continued, Mauno Koivisto stressed. The GDR politician reported on the extraordinary plenary session on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II as well as on the preparation of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

The delegation of the Democratic Peasant's Party of Germany, which is headed by its chairman, Guenther Maleuda, is currently paying a visit to Helsinki at the invitation of the Finnish Center Party. In the morning the delegation met in the parliament building with representatives of the Center Party, among them Vice President of the Parliament Mikko Pesala, and with

representatives of the parliamentary groups. In the afternoon they had a cordial meeting with the board of governors of the Finland-GDR Friendship Society.

Sindermann Receives SRV Court Delegation

AU1309072989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Meeting With SRV Supreme Court Delegation"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [7 September] Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received in Berlin a delegation of the SRV Supreme Court, headed by its president, Pham Hung, for a talk. The Vietnamese guests are visiting the GDR at the invitation of the Supreme Court president for a several-day exchange of experiences on questions connected with the administration of justice and its being guided by the supreme judicial organs of their countries. [passage omitted]

The interlocutors concurrently noted that the safeguarding of peace is the most important political task, to which the judicial organs of the two states also feel committed.

The meeting, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Guenter Sarge, president of the GDR Surpeme Court; Heinz Eichler, secretary of the GDR State Counil; and Klaus Sorgenicht, head of the State and Legal Matters Department of the SED Central Committee. Also present was Ta Huu Canh, SRV ambassador to the GDR.

Greetings Sent to Colombian Patriotic Union

AU1209140789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Sep 89 p 1

[ND report: "SED Greetings to the National Congress of the Patriotic Union of Colombia"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has sent the following greetings telegram, signed by its General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the delegations of the Second National Congress of the Patriotic Union of Colombia in Bogota:

Esteemed Comrades:

The SED Central Committee conveys greetings of solidarity to you and all democratic forces united in the Patriotic Union of Colombia.

With sincere affinity, we observe the responsible, active work of your organization for peace and democracy, for social justice, and for the respect of human rights.

We wish the deliberations of the Second National Congress of the Patriotic Union of Colombia much success.

With socialist greetings.

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,

General Secretary.

Soelle Receives Cuban Food Industry Minister

AU1309120889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Cuban Politician Received in the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section in the joint committee on economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba, received Cuban Food Industry Minister Alejandro Roca Iglesias for a friendly talk on Friday [8 September]. They focused on the further deepening of cooperation between the two countries, especially in the field of food industry, and the development of future supplies of citrus fruits, juices, and concentrates.

GDR Trade and Supply Minister Gerhard Briksa and Ramiro del Rio Perez-Teran, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the GDR, participated in the talk.

Honecker Greets Ethiopia on Anniversary

AU1409155289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Sep 89 p 1

[ND report: "Greetings on the 15th Anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution"]

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed the following greetings telegram to Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia:

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the victory of the Ethiopian revolution I convey to you, esteemed Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, the State Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and the Ethiopian people, on behalf of the SED, the State Council, and the people of the GDR, our cordial greetings.

In close solidarity the GDR working people stand side by side with the Ethiopian people in its struggle to safeguard the people's democratic order. Ethiopia's constructive support for security and stability at the Horn of Africa is supported by our country. The GDR welcomes all efforts

to re-establish internal peace, and wishes your country further success for economic and social progress.

I can note with satisfaction that your friendly visit to the GDR has had a fruitful impact on deepening the close friendly cooperation between the SED and the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, as well as between the GDR and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, on the basis of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between our two states.

Esteemed Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, please accept my good wishes for new successes in the development of your country, your well-being, health, and creative strength.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Stoph Comments on Worker-Peasant State

AU1409140989 East Berlin EINHEIT in German No. 9-10/1989 (signed to press 17 Aug) pp 798-803

[Article by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers: "Our Worker-Peasant State—Main Instrument for Shaping the Developed Socialist Society"]

[Excerpts] The 40 years of development of our worker-peasant state are an impressive proof of the most profoundly democratic, humanist nature of the socialist social system. The GDR developed on the material and intellectual ruins left by fascism and in a country that had been devastated by war. It has become an internationally respected state, whose peace policy enjoys great respect all over the world, which has a modern and efficient national economy, science, and culture, a highly efficient education system, and a developed health sector, and which provides its citizens with all opportunities to develop their talents and skills and guarantees them a life in social security and protection. [passage omitted]

The founding of the GDR—which occurred as a response to the division of Germany through the formation of the separate West German state—proved to be a turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe. War must never again start from German soil, but only peace: Over the past 40 years this maxim has determined the policy of the first German worker-peasant state, which is allied with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states. The politically stable worker-peasant power of the GDR has proved to be an important guarantor for peace in Europe. In the future, too, it will use all opportunities for disarmament and the establishment of a lasting order of peace through comprehensive dialogue and practical measures together with the fraternal socialist countries.

The establishment and development of the GDR convincingly demonstrates the legitimacy of the first German worker-peasant state and its unmistakably democratic character. By implementing their right to self-determination, the GDR people established their state to give roots to the successes of the anti-fascist-democratic change in the interest of social progress in terms of the policy of power and the organization of the state. From the start, the workers class was joined in the building of the new society by small producers, craftsmen, and retail traders, who were given favorable conditions for development. This proved that socialism offers secure prospects to every citizen, regardless of his social origins, religion, and ideology.

This tested practice is being continued in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. The alliance partners of the workers class and its party are making their independent contribution to the joint construction work in the most varied fields. The organizational expression of the alliance of all forces of the people is the GDR's National Front. As a socialist popular movement, it has its share in the fact that such basic human rights as the right to a life in secure peace, to freedom and social justice, to full employment, social security, and education for all citizens have been implemented in our state. [passage omitted]

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has always advanced the development of the socialist society and its state as a process of continuity and renewal. Tested things have been preserved and developed further, outdated things have been eliminated. In this process it has been necessary to solve many problems and remove many obstacles. The SED has paid and is paying utmost attention to the creative work of the people's representative bodies and to the political training and technical qualification of the leaders and employees of the state organs, so that at any time they can live up to the social assignment of the workers class and its allies. The structure and the methods of working of the state organs are adjusted to the respective conditions, in line with the development of the productive forces and production conditions, as well as the international situation. [passage omitted]

For our socialist state it is a matter of course—because it is necessary to our existence—to make ever more fruitful the cooperation with all the forces of the people united in the National Front, and to promote and support their varied activities. In this way, in particular, our state policy multiplies its effectiveness and attractiveness.

In the future, too, the role of the socialist state will be of decisive importance for shaping our socialist society. An optimum linking of the interests of the entire society, the combines, enterprises, and cooperation, as well as those of the working people requires a high scientific standard of management and planning. It places increasing demands on exact analyses, far-sighted strategic decisions, and a method of working that takes into consideration the overall context. There must not be any room for whitewashing. [passage omitted]

The supreme concern of the state is the care for the welfare of the people. This is the constitutional assignment and the determining element of the state's policy. In this connection, the focal issues are the increasingly better meeting of the material and cultural needs and the guarantee of the citizens' basic rights and freedoms, which are contained in the GDR Constitution. On the basis of our socialist conditions of production and power, as well as of the working people's labor results, a high degree of social security has been achieved, which has to be ensured in the future through a further performance increase in the national economy.

This social security, which is guaranteed in the GDR, is neither a state limitation of the individual living conditions nor equalization. It constitutes a stable social basis for equal opportunities for every individual. In close connection with the socialist principle of performance, the implementation of which, however, sometimes needs to be pursued with greater consistency, it is aimed at fully developing the skills of the working people so that they—according to their performances for society—can have a share in the increasing prosperity of the society. Social security applies to all classes and strata of society and expresses their concurrent basic interests. This is one of the main reasons why it is the secure basis for fulfilling special individual interests. [passage omitted]

In line with the requirements of social development, the legal system is being expanded according to plan, legal security is guaranteed as part of the quality of living in socialism, and observation of the laws is strictly enforced. The verifiable reality of the rule of law in our country becomes visible in the compendium of laws that is supported by the people. The laws that are adopted by the People's Chamber reflect the higher quality of social development that has been achieved in the GDR.

The further development of the socialist legal system is concentrated on using the laws to make an even more effective contribution to the enforcement of the economic strategy and to the development of the social society as a whole, to fully develop its advantages and motive forces, to free the people's creative potentials, and to promote and protect their personalities in every respect. [passage omitted]

It is characteristic for the rule of law in the GDR that the rights of the individual citizens are being steadily developed and that the guarantees for their protection are being expanded. This includes, not least, legal redress and the right to petition, as well as respect for the citizens' rights in their relations with the state organs. This is also served by the law on judicial review of administrative decisions, which came into force on 1 July 1989.

As the eighth SED Central Committee session affirmed, the GDR has a clear guideline for all questions of domestic and foreign policy. In preparation for the 12th SED Congress, we will continue to strengthen our socialist state so that it will always live up to its responsibility for shaping the developed socialist society in our country and for the safeguarding of peace.

More Than 50 Arrested Outside Leipzig Church

LD1209100489 Hamburg DPA in German
0925 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Following a service in the Nikolai Church in Leipzig on Monday evening over 50 people were arrested outside the church. This was reported by church circles in East Berlin today. The peace prayers in Leipzig on Monday were also attended by regional Bishop Johannes Hempel. A large contingent of police and state security service personnel surrounded the church, eyewitnesses said.

It was said that the police asked the crowd outside the church to leave the square which, in view of the large police contingent, was rather difficult. Tentative talks between the clergy and the security organs were unable to prevent young people, but also some older ones too, from again and again being picked out from the peaceful crowd and driven away, some of them under force. Among those arrested were many grass-roots church members and people waiting to leave the GDR.

GDR's Honecker To Return to Work 'Soon'

LD1409165189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The GDR's number one leader will soon be able to appear in public.

[Reporter] Erich Honecker will resume work soon. The news was given by Politburo member Guenter Mittag at the conference of outstanding workers in Berlin. According to Mittag, Honecker is well and will soon return to work full time.

About a month ago, Honecker had a bile operatiion, and since then controversial information has circulated regarding his health. Honecker has been ill since the middle of July.

HSWP's Ormos Visits GDR, Meets Hager

LD1409201289 Budapest MTI in English 1510 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin, September 14 (MTI)—Maria Ormos, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Executive Committee, held talks in this capacity on Wednesday and Thursday in Berlin, with leading party officials, on the invitation of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee. Ms Ormos informed Hungarian correspondents in Berlin that the talks were friendly and open.

She said she reported on the preparations for the 14th congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at her meeting with Kurt Hager, secretary of the SUPG Central Committee responsible for ideology.

Mr Hager condemned the inciting and slander campaign instigated against the GDR by certain circles of the FRG, which contradicts common sense and the realistic evaluation of the situation, he said.

The SUPG Central Committee secretary said: The GDR stands firm in upholding the bilateral agreement concluded with Hungary in 1969. At the same time, he voiced his opinion that Hungary's step, with which it ensured free passage to the thousands of GDR citizens wishing to leave for the West, violates the interests of all socialist countries. He said the measure plays into the hands of the large-scale FRG plan with which the FRG wants to intensify its influence in all East Europe, including the Soviet Union. Ms Ormos said that Hungary does not wish to deal with the alleged FRG plans. The step was taken as Hungary was unable to cope with the thousands of GDR citizens. She said Hungary does not wish to accept the unsolved problems of other countries.

The members of the HSWP Political Executive Committee raised the possibility of amending the 1969 agreement. She stressed that a change would be needed which better takes the characteristic interests of the signatories into consideration. For this end, she proposed that experts of the two countries open talks in the interest of working out a solution acceptable to both sides.

Further on GDR Refugees, Opening of Border

Government Rejects GDR Accusation

LD1409174889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] A Hungarian Government statement has rejected Berlin's accusation that Budapest violated international law when it opened the Hungarian-Austrian border to East German refugees.

According to the document, the allegation that responsibility for the step is on the Hungarian side is without grounds, since the decision is the consequence of a situation which developed independently of Hungary's intention and possibilities for action. At the same time, the Hungarian Government statement affirms that our country in the future will respect the GDR's independence, and in no manner is it familiar with—according to how it is worded there—the FRG's obligation to care for every German.

At present the Council of Ministers does not consider it possible to close the borders to East German refugees, because the causes that gave rise to the earlier decision have not ceased to exist. The Budapest standpoint is unchanged; that the issue must be settled comprehensively by the two German states.

In this statement, the Hungarian Government expresses its readiness to continue talks with relevant people from the GDR, because it would like to contribute to a solution of the problem.

Further on Note to GDR

LD1409212589 Budapest MTI in English 1849 GMT 14 Sep 89

["Note by Hungarian Foreign Ministry"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry issued a note in reply to the September 12, 1989 note of the Foreign Ministry of the GDR, which protested against the Hungarian decision making it possible for the GDR citizens staying in Hungary to travel to third countries. The reply note was handed over to Gerd Vehres, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Hungary, by State Secretary Laszlo Kovacs at the Foreign Ministry on Thursday.

The government of the Hungarian People's Republic noted with regret that the government of the German Democratic Republic met with indignation the decision aimed at solving the untenable situation caused by an increase in the number of GDR citizens staying in the Hungarian People's Republic who were unwilling to return home. The government of the Hungarian People's Republic indicated in due time that this step would

become unavoidable if the talks between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which are primarily concerned in the affair, and the efforts of the German Democratic Republic serving the return of their citizens, end in a failure. The government of the Hungarian People's Republic passed decision only after it was convinced of the failure of the said talks and efforts. It became clear that the GDR leadership was not in a position to make a proposal that would settle the issue which concerned a large number of GDR citizens. The decision is a consequence of a situation which emerged independently from the intention and possibilities of action of the Hungarian People's Republic. The allegation that the Hungarian side can be reproached for the step therefore lacks all foundation.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic did not violate international law by temporarily suspending the application of some paragraphs of the agreement on visa-free travel and the related protocol.

The 1969 Vienna convention on the law of treaties, which the GDR note referred to, stipulates in Paragraph 62 that fundamental changes in conditions may serve as a cause for abrogating or disregarding a treaty if the change considerably modifies the extent of obligations to be met.

Fundamental changes in conditions forced the Hungarian government temporarily to suspend the application of some paragraphs of the said bilateral agreement and related protocol.

On passing decision, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic considered the norms concerning the freedom of leaving countries including one's own, laid down in the international covenant on civil and political rights and the chapters dealing with humanitarian cooperation in the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The application of the stipulations of the protocol related to the agreement on visa-free travel is incompatible with the obligations stemming from the covenant, particularly from Articles NOS 12 and 13, and concerning both the Hungarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic. According to Paragraph 3 of article 30 of the Vienna Convention, the treaties concluded earlier should be applied only to such an extent until their stipulations are compatible with the stipulations of other treaties concluded on the topic at a later time. From this aspect it is an important condition that both the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic became parties to the covenant and the Vienna Final Document after the conclusion of their agreement on visa-free travel.

As evidenced, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic acted in compliance with international law.

The Hungarian People's Republic confirms that it respects the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. The country does not recognize in any form the 'obligation' of the Federal Republic of Germany to :care for all germans', as evidenced by the fact that the authorities of the Hungarian People's Republic do not recognize the passport issued to GDR citizens by the Budapest Embassy of the FRG as valid.

Taking into account that the causes of the decision of the government of the Hungarian People's Republic are still existent, the Hungarian side does not hold possible to revoke the decision. It confirms its position that the comprehensive settlement of the issue has to be agreed on by the two German states. At the same time, it expresses readiness to hold talks with GDR authorities and contribute to an acceptable solution of the problem.

Welcoming the similar intention of the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic reconfirms its preparedness to further strengthen friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic in the spirit of the agreement on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

Horvath on Refugee Issue

AU1409151589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Hungarian Interior Minister Istvan Horvath, by Gyula Fejer: "A Temporary Decision Dictated by Circumstances"—date and place not given]

[Text] It seems that the affair of the GDR citizens waiting in Hungary with the intention to resettle in the FRG has come to rest because, as is well known, in accordance with the Hungarian Government's decision, these people can leave Hungary as of midnight 11 September by presenting their travel documents. In connection with this, our correspondent Gyula Fejer interviewed Istvan Horvath.

[Fejer] Today, many people in various places say that they did not expect the situation that emerged at the Hungarian border. Should one believe this? Those who are in charge of defending our borders warned us well in advance that the dismantling of the technical border—which is being sold now as a souvenir—will have its consequences.

[Horvath] I was the one who came up with the proposal to dismantle the electronic warning system along our western border—which the public wrongly called the technical border—as an obsolete remnant of a bygone era—after consulting with all relevant authorities. For quite a while this electronic warning system has not served Hungarian interests. Only an insignificant proportion of those who tried to illegally cross this border were Hungarian citizens. Mainly GDR citizens, a smaller number of CSSR citizens, former Polish and Soviet citizens, or Bulgarian and Romanian citizens tried to cross our Western borders. If we are opening up to the world at large in every respect and we want to belong to the European order without any restrictions,

this warning system can no longer exist. Of course, on the basis of these facts, we were aware that even more GDR citizens would choose this form of departure to the West, since the new situation would facilitate this. One could expect and know this in advance. However, the size of this phenomenon surprised us.

[Fejer] Did the Hungarian Government prepare for the expected events?

[Horvath] We did prepare at least by calling upon the relevant GDR authorities and informing them about our planned measures in advance, namely about the elimination of the electronic warning system and about the possible consequences our joining the refugee agreement will have on our bilateral solutions to travel hitherto.

[Fejer] Does any bilateral agreement stipulate the requirement to inform the partners, or was this a voluntary act?

[Horvath] Let us put it this way: In addition to being a voluntary act, it was definitely a cooperative gesture.

[Fejer] After so much uncertainty, finally the GDR refugees can leave officially. Has the Hungarian Government made the right decision?

[Horvath] It would have been the best for us if—just like before—every GDR citizen who wanted to resettle in the FRG had been granted an emigration passport, in other words, if the GDR and the FRG had solved this problem without involving another, third country. Needless to say, our situation is extremely difficult because the GDR and the FRG have quite opposing expectations as to Hungary's behavior in this issue. It is particularly difficult to fulfill opposing demands when we would like to foster relations with both the GDR and the FRG, rather than have them deteriorate. At the same time, I must point out that we could not disregard the humanitarian aspects in this intolerable situation.

[Fejer] The fact that GDR citizens continue to arrive in Hungary as tourists seems to contradict these directly opposing demands.

[Horvath] It is true that GDR tourists continue to arrive in Hungary even after the introduction of these measures. One can speculate that, trying to get rid of this problem as soon as possible, Hungary should close its borders to these tourists. I think that we cannot do this at all because, as I have already stressed, Hungary cannot be expected to provide a final solution to this problem. If the GDR allows its citizens to travel abroad, we cannot hinder their movement.

[Fejer] According to your information, how many people have left so far, and how much does all this cost Hungary?

[Horvath] We can only guess how many people left without permits before, as we do not have exact figures. However, we do know that as of 4 p.m. 4,500 GDR citizens had left for Austria since the introduction of our measures. This number is expected to double by Tuesday morning [12 September]. The Red Cross and the Maltese Order financed the accommodation of these people, but I must add that this situation added a lot of extra work to our police, local councils, pioneer organization, border police, the Hungarian Railways, and many other organs. Therefore, it is almost impossible to express all the expenses in forints.

[Fejer] In your view, how long will the Hungarian Government decision be valid?

[Horvath] I do not know. We are talking about a temporary decision here and its fate depends on future circumstances. We would be glad to find the final solution as soon as possible because this is an abnormal situation. Should a person coming from Romania try to cross into Austria without valid travel documents, he would immediately be sent back.

[Fejer] Nevertheless, I will ask the following question: Does this decision of the Hungarian Government not create a precedent for the future? Are we not facing the danger of another flow of refugees from other countries, and I mean here primarily neighboring countries?

[Horvath] All this was discussed as possible consequences of our joining the refugee agreement and demolishing the electronic warning system along our border, and we will have to reexamine these aspects in our bilateral agreements. Hungary cannot be a transit place for refugees from neighboring countries who want to settle elsewhere. We have enough problems with providing adequate conditions for people coming from Romania.

Horn Cited on Exodus

PM1509101689 Madrid ABC in Spanish 12 Sep 89 p 28

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Agnes Koroncz in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Budapest—Following a lengthy wrangle between Bonn, Berlin, and Budapest, the situation of the 7,500 East Germans trying to reach the FRG was resolved yesterday. The Budapest government had to suspend one of its treaties with the GDR. Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, the architect of this exodus operation, explained to ABC the circumstances surrounding the decision.

"Hungary," the minister stated, "has always maintained that this is a matter which the two Germanies should resolve. At the meeting with Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher, as well as talking about bilateral relations, I once more emphasized Hungary's stance. In Berlin I said the following: Hungary was not prepared to send back or expel the GDR citizens and could not declare them refugees because they had not requested that status. Nor did Hungary accept the FRG's treating East German citizens as if they were its own. Therefore,

the situation was intolerable and steps needed to be taken... I asked the GDR leaders to apply the solutions which had already been successful in other cases, but they refused. My response was that we could not carry on in that way. As a result, we decided to suspend from 2400 hours Sunday some articles concerning tourism and travel matters in the agreement between my country and the GDR, which had been in force since 1969. According to that treaty, we were not supposed to allow East German citizens to leave for other countries, even if they had visas from a third country. Now this provision has been revoked. If an East German citizen has a visa from a third country, he can leave Hungary. The measure is provisional, but I assure you that it will last longer than 24 hours. I do not know when the previous practice will be resumed."

"GDR Knew Our Plan"

[Koroncz] Did the GDR authorities know about this measure?

[Horn] During my visit to Berlin, 31 August, I informed my interlocutors that this measure would enter into force 4 September. They asked for it to be postponed, with the aim of attempting to persuade their fellow countrymen to return. We accepted this, but the situation had deteriorated. The number of refugees grew, rising from 6,000 to 8,000 East Germans, so that we had to take this step.

[Koroncz] Will this measure not affect relations between Hungary and the GDR?

[Horn] In Berlin, both they and we stressed that this matter should not affect the ties between the two countries. I trust that this will be the case.

[Koroncz] As well as the East Germans, there are thousands of Romanian refugees, and Czechoslovaks and Russians have also been turning up recently. What is happening in their case?

[Horn] Around 20,000 refugees have arrived from Romania. Among them, besides those of Hungarian nationality, the number of refugees of Romanian nationality has been rising. The problem is that nobody wants to take them in. For instance, in Austria they are sent back. The same thing happens with the others—the Russians and the Czechoslovaks. They can leave Hungary but they are unlikely to find countries to take them in. In October, the UN High Commission for Refugees office will be opening in Budapest, and that will alleviate the situation.

I must also mention the matter of the Austro-Hungarian border. We do not wish to restore the "Iron Curtain," but it is absurd for our border guards to be the victims of attacks by those crossing the border illegally, as has happened in the case of the East Germans. Legal documents must be presented at every civilized border. Crossing illegally endangers the country's security.

[Koroncz] You stated a few days ago that Hungary's Warsaw Pact membership should not affect Hungarian interests connected with international agreements. What specifically does this mean?

[Horn] Among other things, it is connected with human rights. The bilateral agreements in force between the socialist countries, which were mostly concluded in the sixties, harm Hungary's interests. I cannot understand how they were accepted. They lay down obligations for Hungary while the other side is accorded only advantages—for instance, the aforesaid agreement with the GDR. These agreements should be revoked or amended.

[Koroncz] You have also asserted the need for this system of alliances to be reformed in order to prevent a repetition of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. In your opinion, would the other countries be prepared to accept such a reform?

[Horn] Lately, agreements have been approved in a different way. The member countries make their decisions in a sovereign manner. At the Warsaw Pact meeting in Bucharest, it was decided that the member countries have no right to intervene in the others' internal affairs. Not everybody shares that view, but the Soviet Union is a staunch interlocutor in this. The intervention in Prague was decided on by a very narrow circle. This cannot happen again. I do not believe that there could be a Soviet leadership which would instigate such a move.

[Koroncz] In an interview granted to our newspaper a few months ago, you asserted that there is no Berlin-Prague-Bucharest axis. Since that time relations between Hungary and these countries have deteriorated. On the other hand, the ties between them are increasingly close and spectacular. Do you still deny that axis' existence?

[Horn] I do not believe in that. There are differences between them in their domestic and foreign policy, although it is also true that there is increasing agreement on a number of issues—primarily in the political and ideological sphere and with respect to economic reforms and political pluralism.

[Koroncz] As well as being foreign minister, you are also a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Politburo. You recently spoke about the possible setting up of a Hungarian socialist party. What would that party be like?

[Horn] At the next congress, 6 October, a new party will have to be set up under this or some other name, which will reject the policy prior to 1988 and the mistakes and crimes committed by previous leaderships, but at the same time will embody the values of the past 30 years.

[Koroncz] You are foreign minister and a member of the party leadership. In the various opinion polls you are mentioned as a possible first secretary or president of the Republic. How do you feel amid so much popularity?

[Horn] It would be hypocrisy to say that I do not like this popularity. As for the presidency, the MSZMP has Imre Pozsgay as its candidate, and I voted for him. I have no aspirations in this direction. As for a possible party post, this would have to be thought about now, at such a tense and conflict-ridden moment, which we certainly did not seek. Being foreign minister is a very responsible and very fine task. At the same time, the country's destiny depends largely on the party's fate, so if I am told that I could be of greater assistance in that post, then I will consider what to do.

Editorial on Refugee Affair

AU1509112989 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Sep 89 p 1

[Editorial by Imre Tatar: "Stripping the Husk"]

[Text] One country thanks us, the other condemns us for allowing GDR citizens vacationing in Hungary to leave for the FRG instead of going home. We did not want this situation to develop and we have little to do with the basic problem, but when those in charge of the problem—Bonn and Berlin—failed to come to an agreement after almost a month of delays, Budapest had to come to a decision. Hungary did not want to "become a Lebanon", to become a permanent refugee camp and a transit station for discontented Germans. When nobody else did anything about it, Hungary had to act on its own. The GDR itself did not want these people to be sent back by force (as the GDR envoy in Budapest put it himself), so what else could be done? All that happened was in a spirit of good conscience, the spirit and letter of Helsinki, international law, and decency. Everyone has the right to choose the place where he wants to live, and Hungary did not want to hinder the assertion of this principle by force.

It is true that an earlier agreement is still valid, an agreement forbidding Hungarian authorities to allow GDR citizens to travel to destinations for which they did not receive permission at home, and even calls upon the Hungarian authorities to expel these people (that is, send them back home.) But what would our own conscience, the world, the Hungarian people, the people of the neighboring countries, and even the majority of people living in the GDR have said if we had done that? Such a thing is not compatible with the new spirit that has triumphed in Hungary.

The GDR did exactly what the rules of its decades-old policy dictated. One could not sensibly expect anything else. Anyone who thought that the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] would become a group of reformers from the end of August to the beginning of September 1989 was wrong. Given the conditions in the GDR, one should even find it commendable that, this year, Berlin has approved a greater number of legal emigration applications than ever before. If this trend continues, the FRG can count on a record number of 90,000-100,000 legal resettlers. Those vacationing in Hungary did not have the patience or trust to wait.

The FRG also did what its laws and national concept compelled it to do: It welcomed and accepted the refugees, and the official bodies and the relatives will do everything in their power to help these people adjust to the new life. Let us repeat the presumption recently expressed in our newspaper: In the long-term, it is not in the interest of Bonn to "drain its neighbor's blood" and lead their relations back to tensions or even a cold war.

Hungary is now attacked by Berlin for allegedly engaging in "trafficking in humans," that is, for selling GDR citizens to the FRG. Another rumor has it—strangely enough, appearing in the FRG press—that we received head money for every resettling GDR citizen. This method has indeed been in vogue between the FRG Government and some European countries for years, like the GDR and Romania. As our foreign minister also declared, Hungary did not participate in such transactions, and hopefully, it will never do so. Besides, 100,000 people do not leave their country under the influence of "imperialist machinations." We learned this from our own example, and in cases like this, we must primarily blame ourselves. No matter what the Western press writes and no matter how glamorous the shop windows in the big Western cities are, a massive exodus of citizens begins in places where there is massive discontent. A clever man will primarily seek the problem at home, even if he does not accept it immediately and even if the other side is also guilty in the affair.

If Hungary is "guilty" of anything, then it is this new spirit that has demolished the remnants of the Iron Curtain along Hungary's border with Austria. It is possible, and even probable that this has encouraged those people vacationing at Lake Balaton and triggered a sudden shock effect of the opportunity for freedom. However, in the long-term, we are not the only "guilty" ones in triggering this emotion. Two Soviet journals were banned in the GDR last year as a clear sign that the leadership in Berlin does not approve of glasnost and restructuring, and the GDR would like to isolate its population from these ideas. However, at the end of the eighties, in a Europe advancing toward the turn of the century, these measures—the methods of spiritual and physical closing of gates—can no longer be used successfully. Neither censorship, nor the increase of military and police presence along the western border or setting up new technical installations will be able to change things that intrude in the people's minds. It was the Soviet change that started the great changes in Europe, in the socialist countries in particular. The sweeping force of these changes also gave rise to political desires, reform desires, and demands for change elsewhere.

The GDR is surrounded by the Soviet example, the Polish developments, and the Hungarian reform in the East, and by the FRG and the dynamically developing Western European world that outruns us in all respects

in the West. The way it reacts to changes beyond its borders, including changes among its friends, continues to be the internal affair of the GDR, but—to repeat what our bitter historical experience has taught us— it is still a mistake not to seek the causes for the massive exodus of citizens primarily at home, instead of blaming Hungary for it.

The recent Hungarian Government decision and this refugee problem warn us that, in addition to the prevailing conflicts, new conflicts might also emerge within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. The time has come to modernize these alliance systems. As Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] put it in a recent interview, "there are boundaries that cannot be crossed, like maintaining the bilateral relations and friendship with the Soviet Union, sticking to the renewed socialist values, and belonging to the system of alliance."

However, we should strip these two alliance systems of everything that is old, obsolete, and useless precisely in order to maintain these relations and friendship and make them lasting. We should also introduce everything that the reform process and the new situation in Europe demand. This wave of refugees—which hopefully will "calm down" and become what its essence shows: a problem of the two German states—shows that life will question, or even destroy the artificial obstacles sooner or later. By using this temporary solution to the refugee problem, Hungary does not want to judge anyone. Let the events themselves be the judge.

Keleti Interviewed on Romanian Relations

LD0909210889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 9 Sep 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] It was made public this week that Romanian General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense, will not be visiting Hungary, and thus we learned that up until now he had an invitation to our country. For a few weeks now the experts have been trying to make a comparison between the strengths of the Romanian and the Hungarian Armed Forces, in other words, of the two friendly armies. They always arrive at the conclusion that the Romanian Army, which has been in Budapest on two occasions already, is much stronger than ours, with respect to its number and equipment. This by itself, however, is not sufficient for there really to exist a southeastern threat. Jozsef Laszlo has prepared an interview with Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, press chief of the Defense Ministry.

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] This week quite a big stir was created by Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati's announcement to the effect that the planned visit to Hungary by Romanian Deputy Minister Ilie Ceausescu will not be taking place. Quite a lot of protests have been lodged against this visit, both from the press and from the various parties and organizations. In such a case where bilateral relations cannot be described as particularly friendly, what is it that makes the Defense Ministry invite such a politician?

[Keleti] The invitation naturally has a longer history. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] As it also emerged at Ferenc Karpati's press briefing, it must have been known, as a matter of fact, what Ilie Ceausescu's opinion of Hungary is. This must have been ascertainable also from the books which he has published in Bucharest.

[Keleti] That is indeed the case. We know that Ilie Ceausescu, who incidentally also works as a historian, has published numerous works which contain negative remarks, partly against the Hungarian minority living there and partly in connection with Magyardom, with Hungary, in general. [passage omitted] In numerous cases they [the Romanians] interpret our reactions as though we were striving to interfere in their internal affairs. I have a list in which we specify 24 works which in some way contain writings of an anti-Hungarian tendency. The Hungarian military leadership called attention to these writings not only at that time, in 1981, but also on numerous occasions since then. Our defense minister has on several occasions summoned the Romanian military attache and conveyed to him these objections of his.

[Laszlo] It has been without much success, according to the signs.

[Keleti] Unfortunately not. Nevertheless I would like to say, so that everybody should understand it well, that the Hungarian military leadership did not pass over these facts without comment.

[Laszlo] Also after the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's present confidence-strengthening and security proposal, according to which a zone of some 50 kilometers would be created along the Austrian and Yugoslav borders, partially free of offensive weapons, the question arose whether the units withdrawn, or regrouped, from there would not end up along Hungary's southeastern borders, in view of the covert military threat coming from there. This topic, that is to say, the covert or the allegedly open Romanian military threat, keeps coming up, this could perhaps be a good opportunity, particularly now that we are living through times of disarmament, so to speak, for the military leadership to also gain capital for submitting its developmental demands to the administration.

[Keleti] The Hungarian People's Army has delievered any kind of bill to the Hungarian Government. What is more, I would like to recall that Rezso Nyers' announcement also contains the proposal to the government that it reduce by some 5.5 billion forints the Hungarian People's Army's budget earmarked for this year. There is no doubt that those units that we will be withdrawing from this specific 50 km zone, if the government gives the

appropriate instructions for this, these soldiers, weapons [eszkoezoek] will have to be stationed in other parts of the country.

[Lazslo] But in your view, is this not connected with the Romanian threat?

[Keleti] Look, my view is that to talk about a Romanian military threat is a very big responsibility. In my judgment, to talk about a concrete military threat by Romania in the direction of Hungary today is an exaggeration. The standpoint of the Hungarian military leadership is that we belong to one alliance; we perform our activity within the alliance under one chief command; in other words, we have appropriate information, be it about Romania or some other country as well, which is a natural thing within the alliance.

[Laszlo] Is this Romanian information?

[Keleti] This information originates on the one hand from the chief commmand; on the other hand, it is information originating from the experiences of visits planned or effected; if not at the level of ministers or deputy ministers, then at lower levels. On the third hand, allow me to say that if in the West every NATO country has appropriate data about the partners, then we can say that we too have appropriate data and information.

[Laszlo] Should one understand by this that—well, to put it discretely—reliance is not only put on the information of the other side? To put it less discretely, is intelligence activity being pursued in this case? In any case, is it conceivable that the Warsaw Treaty countries pursue intelligence activities against one another?

[Keleti] We do not pursue intelligence activity but we react very attentively to every indication, whether it comes from the West or the East. It is understandable if I say that we receive information also from the West, since in the Western press, in the various publications, reports do appear about the Warsaw Treaty in general.

[Laszlo] Within the Warsaw Treaty, is there some kind of regulation, if you like, which comes into effect in the event of a conflict between two member countries? After all, there is already the example of two countries, which describe themselves as socialist, such as China and Vietnam, having entered into armed conflict.

[Keleti] There is no such regulation. The Warsaw Treaty's statute, which was adopted in 1955, lays down that the individual member countries of the alliance will refrain from interfering in one another's internal affairs. In my view, with the exception of one case, which was 1968, these countries have taken this very seriously, and have observed it in every case.

[Laszlo] Yes, but if you like, there has been one precedent when they did not observe it.

[Keleti] Yes, but this precedent occurred in an era we now call the era of the Brezhnev doctrine, when this doctrine made it possible. The Soviet Union, as it was living and working in the spirit of this doctrine, had a certain effect on the other countries of the alliance. If, however, we consider that in our day—and it is not only we who say this, the Soviets also say it, others say it too—the Brezhnev doctrine has been closed once and for all, then we take it seriously that the countries belonging to the alliance of the Warsaw Treaty will refrain from every interference. [end recording]

Budapest Radio on Government Session 14 Sep

LD1409182989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The government is meeting today. Gabor Bankuti reports on the customary press briefing:

[Bankuti] [Passage omitted] The Council of Ministers had an agenda point bearing the title, Consultation:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] It was mentioned that we have come to a quarter-century anniversary in the development of relations between our country and the Vatican. Well, the topic of consultation, properly speaking, was not a historical review, but that, on the basis of the government's authorization, Premier Miklos Nemeth addressed a letter to Cardinal Casaroli, state secretary, head of the Vatican's Council for Church's Public Affairs. It points out that at present profound social changes are taking place in Hungary, a comprehensive reform process is under way. The premier's letter says that a new dialogue has begun between the Catholic Church and the state, between the believers and nonbelievers.

Now, I have arrived at what perhaps is the most important passage of the letter: On the basis of the Hungarian Government's authorization, I state the decision that official talks should begin between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican State, and on setting up diplomatic relations.

[Bankuti] Did the matter of the GDR refugees enter the discussion? News has spread that perhaps there will be a decision to close the border again by 8 October. At the same time, news has spread from another side that the Soviet Union views the Hungarian Government's conduct as somewhat amiss. It this true?

[Unidentified speaker] (?Such a thing) did not enter the discussion—and I, myself, sat in the session hall. However, in one of the breaks in deliberations I asked Foreign Minister Gyula Horn the exact same thing. The foreign minister replied that he could not give any date which can now be stated. Properly speaking, everything depends on how the situation evolves. Thus, inasmuch as we get beyond this situation—which now is rather peculiar, and could even be called critical—at the moment the previous border operation naturally could be restored.

With regard to the Soviet standpoint, indeed standpoints, I, personally, am of the view that, in part, the

Soviet leadership really regards this to be a Hungarian internal matter, and as a consequence it is not taking a stand in the affair either pro or contra. And the other Soviet manifestations with which I am familiar have touched, rather, on the aspect of the extraordinary situation that has evolved in our country, that what is at issue here is problems between the two German states, and that the FRG has also had a part in evoking these problems. [end recording]

[Bankuti] At the briefing following the conversation, Barna Sarkadi-Nagy, leader in the Ministry of Culture and Education who deals with church affairs, stated that Hungary is ready even for a concordat [konkordatum] with the Vatican. Since the government session was protracted, spokesman Zsolt Bajnok dealt only briefly with the draft armament to the tax laws. [passage omitted]

I asked the spokesman at the press briefing: How are the many draft laws being adjusted to the elections? What will the government do if perhaps the elections are announced for the near future? Here is the reply by Zsolt Bajnok:

[Begin Bajnok recording] The government has agreed on preparing for itself two scenarios. In the scenarios, it lists the government tasks, legislative tasks, in a sequence so that, if we suppose that the elections are held this year, what legislative task must be accomplished in the remaining time until then, what scheduling is possible if elections are held in spring of next year, or what scheduling is justified if the elections are held in June of next year, at the end of the term. The scenarios have not been completed, but they are in the concluding phase—to my knowledge, they will be ready—in quotation marks—within minutes. [end recording]

[Presenter] You have heard Gabor Bankuti's report on the government session, which is still going on.

Nyers Speaks on 'Renewing' Party, Reforming

LD1409231889 Budapest MTI in English 2026 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 14 (MTI)—The renewing HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] requires new leadership and if this change takes place in the congress, it will be an act of historic importance such as the foundation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which succeeded the Hungarian Working People's Party, Rezso Nyers, HSWP president, told Szolnok county delegates to the HSWP congress.

The HSWP should be a socialist and democratic party representing the people. The renewed HSWP should radically break with the Stalinist model, a process that started in the Kadar era but, for known historical reasons, proved to be ambiguous, Mr Nyers said.

Party Bodies in TV To End Political Activity

LD1509095789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0430 GMT 15 Sep 89

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Two statements have arrived at the NEPSZABADSAG offices from Hungarian television. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Committee of the television has relinquished all its rights with which it could influence the work of the television organization. They wish to prolong the winding up of the MSZMP organization at their workplace, because a quick liquidation would be a political mistake.

The second statement came from one of the Hungarian Democratic Forum members at the television service. It calls on the political organizations operating in the television service, such as one of their own group led by (Csaba Ilkei), to cease their party activity.

Chairman Aggod Speaks to Ferenc Munnich Society

AU1209112089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 89 p 6

[Vojtech Vesely Budapest dispatch: "The Creed of the F. Munnich Society; The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party on the Eve of its Congress"]

[Text] Budapest (from our correspondent) — As we have reported already, the general assembly of the Ferenc Munnich Society, named after the distinguished Hungarian revolutionary from the time of the Hungarian Republic of Councils and the postwar period, was held in Budapest a few days ago. The society associates more than 10,000 members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], oriented, as is stated in the society's pronouncements, in a Marxist-Leninist spirit. The general assembly was held a month before the start of the MSZMP Congress, scheduled to open on 6 October. For the purpose of information, we publish parts of the report which Jozsef Aggod, chairman of the society, delivered at the General Assembly. He said, among other things:

Since the formation of our society on 11 November 1988 we have been given all kinds of labels, starting with supporters of "order" and ending with its "violators." The impression arises that there are those who would find the existence of an organization enforcing leftist political violence congenial. We emphatically declare here that we have nothing in common with the party which calls itself Marxist-Leninist Workers Party (according to Hungarian press reports, this group was founded recently—RUDE PRAVO note), which is suggestive of an anarchist initiative, and that we clearly dissociate ourselves from it. The Ferenc Munnich Society is opposed to any attempt to bring the political situation to a head. For ideological and practical reasons, we reject all kinds of terrorist threats against persons,

groups, or institutions. Incidentally, life has proven already that the knights of confrontation are getting ready at some entirely different place.

There are those who claim that we do not want reforms. This is nonsense. On what grounds do they suppose that the everyday worries of ordinary people are less painful for us than for others? Is it perhaps the case that our pensioners are sold meat or medicine at cheaper prices than others? Who believes, and why does he believe, that we who have linked our fate with a humanistic socialist society are affected less by the discreditation of socialism than those who today derive schandenfreude from the problems that have arisen?

On the basis of the experience gained in life, MSZMP members and nonparty members alike advocate the preservation and further development of the values and accomplishments of people's democratic and socialist transformations. We stress that we are opposed to any return and that we dissociate ourselves from extremist ultra left- wing, but also right-wing, views and currents. On both local and national levels, we seek dialogue and constructive cooperation with all democratic and patriotic forces. We regard as natural and even welcome the reform concepts of the advocates of democratic ideas. Different opinions, discussion, tolerance, and efforts at dynamic collaboration are a constituent part of progress and the gist of reforms. It seems, however, and not only to us, that there also exists a reverse reform demagogy and dictatorship, aimed at suppressing and brushing aside others. We are opponents of reforms that pursue the aim of weakening socialist values. At the same time we endorse reforms which promote socialism and we favor radical transformations in this regard. Communists are not only revolutionaries of the past but innovators who transform the present and the future.

Our domestic political life is rich. What does not arouse sympathies, however, is the elitist character of politics, the fact that, at least until now, the people have remained on the sidelines of politics. The political revival in our country is not, to put it mildly, in accord with economic processes, with the creation of conditions for man's everyday life. We are profoundly affected by the bitter truths of life. However, we must unfold our activity even in the atmosphere of declining trust in socialism. We definitely are not to blame for this, although the noxiousness of "honest illusions" must not be underestimated. Socialism has not been weakened by its ideas, after which the masses have been striving, but by mistakes committed in its name. Understandably, the enemies of socialism take advantage of this today. What is much harder to understand, however, are the lack of assurance, haste, incessant concessions, and "overtaking from the right" in the management of our society.

Anxiety is aroused by the economic situation of our country, by the decline of working and civic discipline. Our homeland is heading for a situation, in which its management will get out of control. The masses of working people, the young as well as the elderly, live under the heavy burden of deteriorating living conditions, in an atmosphere of existential insecurity. They are not to blame that the fruits of their brains and hands are sinking into the bottomless pocket of our debts. Recently, in connection with the rise in the prices of meat products, warning strikes were held and the work force of the uranium industry held a mass demonstration. We emphasize that we are not supporters of strikes but of the modernization of our economy and we know that this will require some sacrifice. But what is too much is too much. We ourselves form part of the working society and therefore cannot pass over in silence the fact that the working people, proclaimed bearers of all power, are being left out of decisions on ownership relations, prices, and other issues of vital importance.

The masses consist of many layers, the laws of their self-movement are intricate, and their expressions are surprising, sometimes incalculable. Any political movement which would regard the socialist awareness of the large part of the Hungarian people's masses as nonexistent would be committing a grave mistake.

Failing to see that even the Hungarian progressive forces are heterogeneous and that, besides them, there also exist nonsocialist and reactionary currents would be equally mistaken. Nationalistic, anti-Gypsy, and anti-Semitic views and antisocialist and anticommunist movements have experienced an intensive revival. Under the slogans of restructuring and changing the model, genuine manipulation and brainwashing are taking place in our country. Forces have emerged which push developments in the direction of a change in the social order, toward the program of the bourgeois society. If many people regard this as something normal, then let the propagation of the left-wing, socialist, and communist views and interests which we profess be at least an equally natural occurrence in the Hungarian public.

It seems that the needle of the political compass in our country still points only in one direction, albeit it is the opposite direction than in the past. The idea of the European home is also our concern, including the proviso that it should have as few fences and closed doors as possible. Nonetheless, there exists a difference between an open house and a house where anyone can wander through. We are also convinced that, if the common European home is not to be a castle in the air, then it must be built from nothing but the stones of the realities of the genuine interests and shared will of Western, central, and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The democratization and dynamization of the community of the peoples of central and Eastern Europe, which is determined by fate, but also the modernization of Hungarian-Soviet relations is in our national interest.

We must learn to much better hold our own in the competition of nations and to assert our interests more effectively and in a more modern way. This, however,

also requires the ability to secure good neighborly relations with the neighboring states. We cannot be indifferent to the concerns of Hungarians leaving near our borders.

We make no secret of the fact that, for us, patriotism and internationalism are two sides of the same coin. We express solidarity with the forces of peace and progress. At the same time we say that solidarity does not mean only approval. So far, no one has discovered the socialist philosophers' stone. We can help one another, both at home and in the world, only reasonably and in a critical spirit. Yet criticism has a certain criterion—whether something takes place for the benefit of socialism, or against it. We cannot identify with it when signs of nationalism, superiority, and hate-filled discrimination appear under the masthead of criticism.

The communist aktiv of the Ferenc Munnich Society has from the very beginning been working toward the renewal of the MSZMP. We make no secret of the fact that we react sensitively and sometimes perhaps even nervously to the negative development with regard to party unity. From the viewpoint of the interests of our state, people, and nation, we regard the apparent differences within the party leadership as a catastrophic phenomenon. The same holds true for the party's membership masses being left to their fate. What we have in mind is a flexible, modern unity of the MSZMP, implemented on the platform of Marxism-Leninism and today's realities. We ourselves are searching tenaciously for its criteria. We reject centralist democracy but we also reject phenomena touted as democratic elements which lead to anarchy. We reject this not only for ideological reasons but because our political adversaries scrupulously attend to their capability to take action. We favor the integration of the values of diverse communist, social democratic, democratic, and similar movements. What we reject is political juggling and the hopping and skipping between real and fictitious values. From ideological and practical positions, we deem an antiommunist or a noncommunist socialism to be nonsense.

We are intrinsically interested in national reconciliation. We have proven this more than once. But the nation's memory is rich. This is why, in our opinion, reconciliation cannot be attained in the way this is practiced today by some self-styled groups seeking power, which declare their own narrow interests to be the interests of the whole nation while billing different views as being directed against the nation. Political tolerance grows from the soil of a truthful, scientific evaluation of the past and from the readiness to draw the appropriate conclusions from it. Wounds caused by former political concepts cannot be healed by today's political counterconcepts. A businesslike evaluation of the past cannot be an aim in itself but only a background for the future.

We are advocates of a modern and people's Hungary. It is not our idea that we or anyone else can determine the future of our people. Let the people themselves decide about it. On the basis of the best of our knowledge and experience we are convinced, however, that the present model does not assist, but impedes, socialist development; that the system of private ownership, based on foreign handouts and capital kept reined in, is not a solution to our problems; that there must be, and will be, a Hungarian people's democratic and socialist rebirth, J. Aggod stressed in his speech.

Spokesman on GDR Citizens in FRG Embassy

LD1409194489 Warsaw PAP in English 1736 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 14—Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszewski has admitted in a talk with a PAP reporter that a group of GDR citizens who want to emigrate to West Germany has been staying in the FRG Embassy in Warsaw for some time now.

Staniszewski did not specify how large the group was but said that the problem was being considered by appropriate Polish authorities.

"Warsaw embassies of the GDR and the FRG are in contact with the Polish Foreign Ministry which deals with the issue," Staniszewski told PAP.

Press attache of the GDR Embassy here Falko Schreiber told PAP that the FRG Embassy has not notified the GDR diplomatic representation about the existing situation so far.

FRG Official Arrives in Warsaw for Talks

LD1409142289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] At midday Horst Teltschik, Chancellor Kohl's envoy for talks with Poland, arrived in Warsaw. Mieczyslaw Pszon, Premier Mazowiecki's representative, will be his partner in the talks for the Polish side. Teltschik said at the airport that he expects the Polish-West German talks, which have been going on for a long time, to reach a conclusion. The program of the visit anticipates a meeting with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski, Minister of State Jozef Czyrek, and other personages from the political scene.

Talks Begin Eighth Round

LD1409224289 Warsaw PAP in English 1816 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—Plenipotentiaries of the Polish and FRG heads of governments began the 8th round of talks here this afternoon. The representative of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki is Mieczyslaw Pszon who appears for the first time in this role and his partner is Horst Teltschik.

Before the talks, which are planned to go on till Saturday, the representative of Chancellor Helmut Kohl told journalists that the negotiations are intensive and voiced hope for their quick results. We shall go as far in the talks as it is possible, he said.

Asked about the date of a visit by Chancellor Kohl to Poland, Teltschik replied that this will be possible after the talks have reached a succesful conclusion. We shall then fix the date of the visit with the new Polish Government.

Pszon, questioned by journalists, expressed hope that the 8th round of talks would bring about an actual breakthrough in the Polish-German relations.

Polish Statement on Romanian Border Beatings

LD1409161789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] [Presenter] On the night of 12 to 13 September, we had another scandal on the Romanian border. This is not the first time, though the Romanian functionaries have never yet used such bestial methods. Here is our correspondent, Zdzislaw Uberman, with the details:

[Uberman] The Romanian customs and border guards beat up a group of Polish travellers at the Epikopia-Bihor border crossing. Thrown off a Budapest-Bucharest train, the Polish citizens, who had had their passports taken away, started to demand the return of their passports. In reply, one of the tourists was beaten up. When the Poles stood up to defend him, an army unit was brought in which used tear gas and commenced beating the frightened people. Thirty Poles were imprisoned in the tight station waiting room and kept there until the morning, without being allowed to contact the Polish Embassy in Bucharest. One of the Poles, Bogdan Zapart from Legnica, was kept sitting with his hands tied behind him for the whole night. In the morning, the Poles were expelled to Hungary, and Bogdan Zapart, who was beaten the most heavily by the Romanians, had to be bought out by his friends for 2,000 Lei—of course without a receipt—so that he could return to Hungary. Bogdan Zapart was beaten through the whole night, with rifle-butts and bases of rifle-butts. He bears signs of these blows on his back, hands and head. He was thus reminded that he should not sleep. He will have to go through a long recuperation. The others who were hurt have already returned home.

[Presenter] Our Foreign Affairs Ministry today called in the charge d'affaires from the Romanian Embassy and protested. The Foreign Ministry issued an official statement:

The Polish side expects the perpetrators of the beatings to be brought to justice, and also expects an assurance of proper treatment of Polish citizens on Romanian territory in the future. The Polish side retains the right to demand compensation for the harm and hurt rendered. The Embassy of the Polish People's Republic in Bucharest has received instructions to clarify precisely all the circumstances and details associated with this matter.

These are excerpts from the statement, and we will retain a memory of a fraternal country where the law is represented by bandits in uniform [bandyci w mundurach].

PAP Report on Incident

LD1509103789 Warsaw PAP in English 0943 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 14—In connection with the behaviour of Romanian border functionaries against a group of Polish citizens on Tuesday night at the border crossing from Hungary to Romania in Episcopia-Bihor (the incident reported by PAP) foreign ministry director-general Boguslaw Miernik summoned on Thursday, charge d'affaires of the Romanian Embassy in Warsaw, notified him about the incident, and lodged a protest.

Pointing to the inacceptability of such a conduct by Romanian border personnel in relation to Polish citizens he said that the Polish side expects the perpetrators to be punished for the beating and that proper treatment of Polish citizens will be ensured on the Romanian territory in future. The Polish side reserves for itself the right to claim compensation for the damages and wrongs done.

He stressed that such incidents ill serve friendly cooperation between Poland and Romania.

The Foreign Ministry has also announced that the Polish Embassy in Bucharest has been instructed to explain all the circumstances and details related to the case.

The wronged Polish tourists who returned from the border crossing to Budapest, were taken care of by the Polish Embassy's consular department in Budapest which also provided them with medical assistance.

President Jaruzelski Meets Soviet Envoy

LD1409230289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has received the Soviet Ambassador in Poland Vladimir Brovikov.

Autonomy of Lithuanian Poles Opposed

LD1409164189 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 14 Sep 89

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 14—The political situation of Poles in Lithuania was described as an acute political problem by head of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet Wytautas Astrauskas.

The executive committee of the council of peoples deputies of the Shalchynin region decided to make this region a Polish autonomous administrative district within the Lithuanian republic, Astrauskas reminded newsmen at a press conference in Vilnius, commenting that these were instigative ideas.

"Lithuania is indivisible and it is impossible to create administrative units that are not accounted for by the Constitution of the Lithuanian Socialist Republic, added he.

Vice Chancellor Riegler Meets Mazowiecki

AU1509140089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 15 Sep 89 p 4

[Josef Kirchengast report: "Talks Between Riegler and Mazowiecki in Warsaw; Austria Wants to Convert Poland's Debts Into Participation"]

[Text] Warsaw—The first workday of the new Polish Government under Solidarity Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was characterized by the visit of Vice Chancellor Josef Riegler and Science Minister Erhard Busek. The talk between Riegler and Mazowiecki in the Warsaw government palace on Thursday [14 September] was dominated by the discussion on Austria's opportunities to reorganize the ailing Polish economy.

Riegler stressed that the Austrian Government wants to declare "that we will concretely set to work in our cooperation with Poland." Mazowiecki expressed his joy at the fact that this visit took place such a short time after the formation of the government. Austria is a model, a bridge for coexistence in central Europe, the premier stressed and then referred to Poland, "If we were to fail in this task, something would go wrong for the whole of Europe."

According to Mazowiecki, absolute priority is given to fighting inflation. If this is not successful very soon, social tensions will increase. The state monopoly chain leading from the purchase of products to the sale to consumers is planned to be broken as soon as possible in order to again render production profitable for the peasants and to improve supplies in this way, he stated.

The premier acknowledged that President Jaruzelski is seriously interested in the success of the reforms. At any rate, the government does not want to drive any political force in Poland to the wall, said Mazowiecki, alluding to the role of the Communist Party.

As much as 40 billion schillings—almost 8 percent—of Poland's foreign debt valued at 546 billion schillings ($39 billion) falls to Austria. Government guarantees were given for 36 billion schillings. As they cannot be expected to be paid back, at least not in the medium term, the Austrian Government is the first to be willing to convert the credits into participation in concrete projects, Riegler stressed. This could relieve the Poles from psychological pressure and at least result in the right to joint determination in the selection and implementation of projects.

In addition, however, as was repeatedly stressed in the talks, Poland needs new capital. There will be tough negotiations on this, the result of which will greatly depend on free Europe's readiness to help. Austria will take a concrete step by considerably reducing tariffs on Polish imports as of 1 January 1990.

The talks in Warsaw also focused on opportunities for agricultural cooperation. Austria wants to help develop a cooperative system according to the classic example of

the Raiffeisen farmers cooperative, if Poland wishes this. The training of Polish experts and peasants in Austrian technical schools and institutes is planned to be extended.

Meets Officials, Ends Visit

LD1409230189 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—Austrian Vice-Chancellor Josef Riegler ended his brief, unofficial visit to Poland today after political and economic talks held in Warsaw earlier.

Also today Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Vice-Chancellor Josef Riegler and accompanying him minister of science and research Erhard Busek. Both sides discussed prospects for developing relations between Poland and Austria.

Having concluded his talks with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Vice-Chancellor of Austria Josef Riegler told PAP:

"We have discussed three main fields of cooperation. The first of them concerned the possibilities Austria has to give new impulses to the economic development of Poland. The Austrian government had earlier undertaken certain decisions, such as, the political possibility of debt for equity swap. Major limitation of duty fees is planned for the beginning of next year. Our plan is not only to convert the debt but also to direct new money to Poland.

"The second important field is our involvement in tourism. This applies to the expansion of hotels, tourist infrastructure, and training of tourist personnel. We have also discussed problems of cooperation in science and technology. Forgetting about the principle of reciprocity, we want to offer a certain number of grants for students, trainees, and professors.

"The third field is agriculture. We are considering new possibilities which concern machinery and equipment for Polish farmers."

Austrian vice-chancellor also had a fruitful meeting with Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz. Both officials talked about concrete undertakings connected with the reduction of the Polish debt, the involvement of Austrian banks in the re-structuring of the Polish banking system, the flow of Austrian capital to the Polish economy, and about ways of investing it especially in the power industry. Josef Riegler also met with Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki.

The Austrian guest also talked with Vice-Minister of Farming, Forestry, and Food Economy Wieslaw Mlynarczyk about the principles of cooperation aimed to elevate the productivity of Polish agriculture.

The Austrian vice-chancellor paid a visit to Polish Roman Catholic Primate Jozef Glemp.

Austrian Minister of Science and Research Erhard Busek, who accompanied Josef Riegler, met with Vice-Premier and Minister Heading the Office for Science and Technological Progress Jan Janowski to discuss the principles of Polish-Austrian cooperation in science and technology as well as Poland's participation in the "Eureka" project.

Sejm Parliamentary Committee on EC Agreement

LD1409220989 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 14—The Sejm (parliamentary) committee for foreign economic relations and maritime economy has opined the Poland-EC agreement, stating in part:

"The presented agreement is an important but only initial step towards establishing formal economic links between Poland and the EC.

"Breakthrough-making political changes in Poland, which have ultimately shown up in the appointment of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, offer an opportunity of a much more far-going cooperation with the EC.

"The committee is of the opinion that after signing the agreement, it is necessary to immediately proceed to work on obtaining preferential terms of cooperation with special regard to the question of investment in Poland. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Academic Cited on U.S.-Polish Cultural Exchange

PM1509075889 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 31 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with Prof Eugeniusz Kusielewicz, lecturer at St. John's University, New York, and chairman of the Kosciuszko Foundation, by Elzbieta Szafranska; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Szafranska] During his recent visit to Poland President Bush signed an agreement concerning the opening of an American Culture Center in Warsaw and a Polish Culture Center in the United States...

[Kusielewicz] Perhaps the latter will be set up in New York. We hold high hopes in connection with this project, which would be the first step toward cultural and academic exchange between our countries. I envisage such a center as a serious institution devoted to dissemination of Polish culture and able to publish its own periodicals, finance publications, and organize exhibitions and lectures. An institution which would supply scientists and academics of Polish descent with accurate, reliable information that would help them revise and rectify many unfair detrimental opinions about Poland. I would like to see a change in the image of Poland held by many American people, because in the majority of cases that image is false.

[Szafranska] I heard that you spent 30 years collecting materials for your latest work, a study of Polish-Jewish relations.

[Kusielewicz] This is true. I hope that the book will be published soon, thus crowning the decades of work I have put into it.

American Jews frequently give expression to their negative opinions about Poland. They are often mistaken in their judgments and in their attitude to Polish people. We all know that their mutual relations have been far from excellent. Jews blame Polish anti-Semitism for this state of affairs. Up to a point, they are right... On the other hand, there is also Jewish prejudice against Poles, and no one ever writes about this in America. No one has ever written about the hostility with which Jews reacted to a succession of Polish independence movements. This question will also be discussed in my work.

Since we are discussing this issue, I should like to say that recently the question of the Nazi death camp at Oswiecim and, in particular, the plans to remove the Carmelite convent from the camp site, has provoked much controversy within Polish communities in America. They are against the decision to remove the convent from the camp area. The arguments in favor of that decision stress primarily the wrongs suffered by the Jews there, although in fact the Oswiecim camp is synonymous with the death of millions of victims, Jews and Poles alike. [passage omitted]

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki Addresses Sejm

AU1509104889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 89 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at meeting of the Sejm in Warsaw on 12 September]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the House! I wish to present the outline program and composition of the proposed government. I turn to all my countrymen. I am convinced that the decisive majority of Poles similarly understand the goals to which we should be moving and carry in their hearts the same ideal of the fatherland. We wish to live in dignity in a sovereign and democratic state, subject to the rule of law, which everyone, irrespective of world view, ideological and political differentiation, can regard as their own state. We wish to live in a country with a healthy economy, where it is worth working and saving, and where the satisfaction of basic material needs is not associated with trouble and humiliation. We want a Poland that is open to Europe and the world, a Poland without an inferiority complex, which makes a contribution to the creation of material and cultural goods, a Poland whose citizens will feel they are welcome guests and not intruders giving trouble to other countries of Europe and the world.

I come as a man of Solidarity, loyal to the August heritage. I conceive it above all as a great, collective call of society for sovereignty, the right to decide the fate of the country, and also as a readiness for solid and decisive action in order to achieve these needs. But the heritage of August is also the ability to overcome disputes and divisions, the ability to seek partnership, the forsaking of thought along the lines of taking revenge for the past, the settling of accounts.

So that the situation could have come about whereby a premier coming from Solidarity could stand before the House, much had to happen. We all had to think through a lot and understand a lot. This fact could not have come about without great shocks which are dangerous to the nation if the main political forces functioning in our country had not shown imagination, good will, and a feeling of responsibility for Poland.

The role of the church was also irreplaceable in this process. Today, we stand before two main problems for Poland: the political reconstruction of the state, and leading the country out of economic catastrophe. I am aware of the seriousness of the situation. I know how difficult it will be to reconcile both of these aims and simultaneously to implement them. The new government will function under the pressure of the fact that at any moment the construction of democracy in Poland, which has only just begun, could collapse in the event of the breakdown of the economy.

I am convinced that we would only enjoy the regained political freedoms for a short time if we do not succeed in holding back the economic catastrophe. Society will feel the uselessness of democratic institutions if a clear change does not follow in everyday life. We reject the political philosophy that assumes economic reforms can be introduced against society, over its head, laying aside democratic transformations.

Poland can only be raised up by a society of free citizens and the policy of a government that is granted trust by the clear majority of Poles. The transformation of the citizens' attitude in relation to the state is of fundamental importance. The experiences of recent history mean that a significant part of society has not seen in the state shaped after the war an institution which serves the nation. The ideal of the state was the organization of the life of society in all its manifestations. The state sought to rule not just over the actions but over the minds of people. This philosophy still resides in the structures and principles of functioning of many institutions of our public life and also in our consciousness and life.

The conditions exist today which allow for overcoming the situation in which the good of the nation was opposed to the interests of the state. The initiative for rebuilding society's trust in the state must, however, above all come from the bodies of state power, and more precisely the government. Our goal is a state which creates a safe framework for individual and collective existence, which specifies only the frontiers of freedom for the individual and social collectives. Recognizing the value of human activity, I will not however leave the weak and socially incapable without protection.

May it please the House! The logical and necesssary consequence of the principles presented on which the state should rest is to seek its construction on the basis of law. The law cannot be an instrument for ruling over citizens by the state apparatus or any other political group. But they, too, should respect the law in force. We will seek to accelerate work on new codifications of the criminal law, especially criminal procedure, and also the law on misdemeanors, which must meet the demands of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, the right to defense, and the right to a trial. Work will be continued on changes in civil law. Reform of the law on the system of courts is urgent. The creation of guarantees of the independence of judges will be served by a government legal initiative on the creation of a National Judicial Council [Krajowa Rada Sadownictwa]. We also plan initiatives for the new regulation of the law on assembly. We will seek to include under judicial control all administrative decisions. A matter of great importance is the undertaking of work on a new democratic constitution. The government intends to actively take part in this work.

We also face the exceptionally difficult task of shaping relations between Parliament and the government as—respecting the supreme role of the parliamentary chambers—will allow the efficient functioning of the executive bodies. The basis of our relation to parliament is the conviction that the efficiency of the government will depend not only on the formal acceptance by, but also on the moral support of, the chambers, on the possibility of drawing on their social authority. The functioning of the government in accordance with social expectations will depend on critical evaluation of its proposals and activities and on the efficient course of legislative work.

The government, within the framework defined by the constitution, will cooperate with the president. This is demanded by the authority of the state. This is particularly important today for successful implementation of the Polish reforms. The government wishes to cooperate with all the political parties and groups in Parliament. We are in a completely new situation in which all political forces must rethink their role and their attitude toward the state and its institutions, in a situation when the state becomes the general and supreme value.

This is not an easy process for everyone, but it is an essential one. It concerns the PZPR [Polish United Worker's Party] on one hand, as well as those who so far have been in opposition on the other hand. Departure from the identification of one party with the state is not a once-only act, but a complex process. This process should not be hampered and everything should be encouraged which serves the democratic formula of political life, which creates equal rights and chances for all.

The transfer from struggling against the state, which was placed above everything else, to treating it as our own state is also complex. This process should also not be hampered, or, even less, seen as a threat to the stability and functioning of state institutions. We shall all, therefore, learn from the beginning. One should also assume that from the circles of the hitherto opposition various political forces will emerge and organize themselves. This process should be provided by the government within the legal framework, encourging it to take place in a natural way.

It is important what attitude there is toward those political groupings, large or small, which remain outside Parliament. They have to choose their place in the process of transformations which has accelerated in Poland. Here I also address those radical forces who displayed dissatisfaction with the decisions of the Roundtable. This dissatisfaction can be creative if it is also accompanied by a feeling of responsibility for the difficult issues ahead of us all. The period which we have entered is not a time for words but for actions to extricate Poland from the crisis for the sake of the great chance of reconstruction of the Polish state, and as such it will be remembered by history.

In Poland today, there are many social organizations which have existed for a long time and also those which have been created recently in great numbers thanks to the recovered right of assembly. The government will encourage their development, respect their independence, and treat their work with understanding. The government also does not intend to do their work for them. It is a task of great importance to create in Poland authentic territorial self-government. The government will cooperate intensively with the Sejm and the Senate in the work of creating the legal and material conditions for setting up territorial self-government so that the elections to it can be held sooner than expected. With the creation of self-government we link our hope for a release of great civic energy which has until recently been frustrated by a feeling of impotence due to state red tape and central directorates. Independence of decisions, own administrative apparatus, and own property will create possibilities of development for the local communities. The efficiency of the government's actions will depend on the loyalty of the state apparatus.

The government does not intend to carry out a mass exchange of state administrators. In the selection of personnel we will apply the sole criteria of professionalism and competence and also the loyal execution of the state authorities' recommendations.

On the other hand, we will reject direction through particular interests. All Polish citizens must have equal rights in seeking access to state service. An important part of the state apparatus are those services whose calling is the supervision of the security of citizens and the state. In the militia we see a service that, within the framework of the law, protects public order and gives citizens a feeling of security. We understand the difficult, often dangerous work of its officials. At the same time, however, we perceive the need for fundamental reforms that should ensue in association with the democratic transformations taking place in the country. The point is,

especially, the subjection of militia activities to the supervision of the law and public opinion. From a militia serving to keep society in obedience to a militia protecting the peace of the citizens, this is the road that must be taken to the end. This is also the road to real social recognition of the militia.

The extent and role of the Security Service must also change in a situation of democratic transformations and the restoration of rights to citizens. We want the Polish Army to adhere to its best traditions, serving only the fatherland and the nation. The world view and the political convictions of the officers and soldiers should be their personal concern, with no influence on the course of their service and career.

The government wants to make permanent the traditional respect in our society for military obligation. We will seek the humanization of military life and service. Both in the Armed Forces and also in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, there should be conditions for the appropriate participation of representatives of various sociopolitical forces in the forming of policy and the evaluation of the activity of its bodies.

May it please the house! The government wants to tell the truth and to make possible the freedom of expression for all sections of public opinion. An open flow of information must be established in both directions between the government and society. We want Polish public opinion to have an influence on state affairs and we will listen to its voice.

The development of the press cannot be administratively regulated and the role of censorship must be limited further. Access to radio and television must be equal to all. Television and radio will have a pluralist character. The era of limitation on the freedom of Polish journalism has pased and the time for its great role in the creation of society's political culture has begun.

There is no free country without free trade unions. The government, respecting their rights, will strive for partnership with different factions of the trade union movement, so that the abilities of the country are reconciled with the employees' needs. In the present very difficult economic situation, it will not be easy. We are expecting understanding on the part of all trade union movements. I promise that the affairs of the working people will be treated with the highest respect by the government. As premier, I will remember my trade union pedigree.

May it please the House! The Polish state can be neither an ideological nor a religious one. It must be a state where no citizen is discriminated against or rewarded for political views or convictions. Religion, which carries with it the motivation for a respected and honest life, which teaches responsibility for neighbors, solidarity with other people—especially those in need—also constitutes a universal value in the social dimension. In the difficult times which we now have, when one has to call for the deepest and noblest human feelings, we feel the significance of religious motivation particularly strongly. The Catholic Church has been fulfilling a significant role in the process of regaining the rights due to the nation and its citizens, as well as in initiating in times of crisis a dialogue between authority and society.

The government wishes to cooperate with the Catholic Church and with all other faiths in Poland. Freedom of religion is a natural and inalienable right of man and every attempt to assault it constitutes an act worthy of condemnation. Poland is a state, a fatherland not only of Poles. We live in this land with representatives of other nations. We hope that they feel at home here, cultivate their language, and enrich our community through their culture.

May it please the House! The political changes in our country began a year ago, in May, by the young workers of Gdansk. They were patient as they left the Gdansk shipyard with heads held high. But they were also consistent when they returned there. In August, they again spoke out for their rights. They had sufficient faith in themselves; they also had hope and common sense. Their success came slowly. That is why today I believe in the patience, energy, and stubbornness in the activity of young Poles. I address them in particular, that they be not lacking in faith, both those who are in education and those who are commencing work and are setting up families; these radical young people who feel rejected and wish to express through their attitude opposition to that which is taking place around them, to those for whom after years of education it is difficult to find the sense of labor, who wait years for an apartment, and for whom the only hope in life seems to be to emigrate. It is precisely in young people that there resides the most energy and creative initiative. They must be given freedom of action, the possibility to express views, and to manifest dissatisfaction. Changes in the economic institutions that the government intends to quickly implement will create favorable conditions of action for enterprising people, and, above all, for young people. The exceptionally important housing problem, especially for the young generation, today demands quick and radical decisions. We are aware that without its resolution the mainful phenomenon of the emigration of young people will not slow down. This is a problem that is not only economic but also political. I will not be making the young generation promises I cannot keep. On the other hand, I assure them that the government will consistently remove the ideological and political barriers that have so far made participation in public life in accordance with convictions and avowed systems of values difficult.

May it please the House! In all areas of culture and art, our policy will be the same: as few regulations as possible. It is not for the authorities to impose on cultural institutions ideological, artistic, or religious preferences. Recognizing the enormous achievement of Polish literature and art in exile and also the achievements of illegal publication at home, the government will create the conditions in which all the values of culture will become universally accessible.

The government is aware of the dangers which inflation creates for the culture, and will strive as much as possible to counteract them. Together with creative associations, watching for arbitrary decisions, it will try to work out an efficient system of subsidies. We will also encourage the creation of foundations and various forms of patronage through tax relief.

Polish science represents a great intellectual potential, given the neglected and outdated infrastructure. Its further degradation must not be allowed. The government will be in favor of solutions which will aim at the self-management of science, at shortening the path to promotion, at increasing the scope of creative skills and initiatives. It will also spare no effort to make it easier for scientific establishments to maintain contact with the world of science. However, I expect that work for Poland will remain the ambition of young and talented scientists. We will strive to restore full autonomy to higher education establishments. I expect work on the new draft law will be ended soon and the draft will be approved by the academic milieu. Within the framework of the autonomous higher education establishments there will be room for free development of student organizations.

The state of education arouses the greatest fear. Negligence and lack of investment over many years in the past is taking its toll. The fact that despite those conditions many schools continue to educate their students at a good level is due to the contribution of teachers, people who treat their profession as a vocation and a social service. The new government is fully aware of this debt which society owes the teachers.

Everything that is really important and socially indispensable takes place at the school level. A teacher and a school is for the student, not vice versa. A change in thinking about the role of schools is necessary. Education issues should be regulated by the new education laws.

We realize the dangers which threaten the nation's biological existence. Ad hoc measures will be taken for the most urgent needs. To solve the health problem, the creation of the foundations for truly social health care based on the principles of cost- effectiveness accounting, independence, and self-management of health service outlets is indispensable, given the aboliton of the present expensive bureaucratic barriers.

We realize the bad state of our natural environment. A change of economic strategy, of town and country planning and designing is necessary, so that it is not negatively reflected on the environment in which we live, as well as urgent defining and liquidation of the most serious threats to life and health. It is necesary to create a clear picture of responsibility as far as environmental protection is concerned.

We will be seeking help from the advanced countries of the world in the sphere of environmental protection. Solving the problems of culture, schools, education, the protection of health and the national environment demands the help and active participation of the state. The government does not want to avoid this. However, in the dramatic situation of the economy, and especially with the very difficult financial situation of the state, this help will be limited and not equivalent to needs. We rely on the fact that the bold removal of administrative barriers limiting human initiative will awaken authentic social initiatives that will supplement that which the state today cannot itself do for these areas.

Mr Speaker, may it please the House! We face the historic task of carrying out breakthrough changes in the economy that will keep pace with the political transformations. However, this task must be carried out in an extremely difficult economic situation. The average standard of living is lower than 10 years ago. The spheres of poverty both in the countryside and in the towns have widened. The economy finds itself in the noose of foreign indebtedness. Productive capital is subject to speedy attrition. The breakdown in housing construction is deepening. The ecological crisis in certain parts of the country has reached catastrophic proportions. For the first time since 1982, a speedy fall in production is beginning. These are but a few elements of the economic drama that the new government is finding. Over the last few months, a prices and wages spiral that is destroying the entire economic mechanism has joined them. We are threatened with enormous inflation, leading to total economic chaos. We have decided to slow this process as quickly as possible and to carry out a breakthrough in the economic system and in the country's economic situation. However, in light of the powerlessness of the economy, the great number of accumulated problems, and the exceptional pressure of time the government will not be able to do everything at once. However, we will immediately undertake activites intended to reduce the inflationary pressure. Above all, we intend to propose moves to reduce the budget deficit. It is necessary to decisively increase the discipline of tax receipts. Many enterprises do not fulfill their obligations in relation to the budget, treating tax backlogs as a form of cheap exploitation. Things cannot continue like this. Credits are granted by the bank and not by the budget.

Economies on the expenditures side will also be necessary. They will be based on the further lowering of subsidies, the limitation of investments that are centrally funded, the transfer to civilian purposes a part of the armaments industry, and also the limitation of the range of credit preferences. Activities limiting the growth of money supply in the economy will be indispensible. The government will propose a limitation of investment credits. We will undertake activities that will slow down the fall in the real value of savings and also credit obligations in relation to banks. We will be forced to strictly apply the taxation sanctions in force for the payment of wage awards in enterprises that are not in accord with regulations.

May it please the House! Simultaneously with current activities aimed at counteracting the process of inflation, the government will take steps to initiate the transfer to a modern market economy, tried and tested by the

developed countries. A government plenipotentiary for ownership transformations will be appointed and, when equipped with the appropriate organizational apparatus, will speedily develop a program and principles for the transformation of the ownership structure of our economy. The basic principle will be public and open sale, accessible to all citizens and to institutions interested in the efficiency of management. We are creating solutions which will facilitate the acquisition of shares by the workers of enterprises. There will also be a place for various other economically efficient forms of ownership.

The principle of public and open sale will end the hitherto practice of the appropriation of parts of the national wealth on the basis of informal ties and not economic criteria. We must quickly acquire the legal bases for the stock exchange which is indispensible for ownership transformations. We will also urgently take the appropriate organizational steps in this direction. The suppression of inflation and the abolition of allocation, the introduction of market prices and the exchangability of the zloty, and also the continuation of the process of equalization of the rights and obligations of all sectors will create for state enterprises significantly better conditions than hitherto for efficient activity, and will enable them to undertake competitive struggle with enterprises of other sectors. Our economy is extremely monopolized. In these conditions no market is capable of displaying the efficiency appropriate to it. That is why we will take decisive action to remove unnecessary and harmful organizational structures. This particularly applies, in accordance with my earlier announcement, to the demonopolization of the structures serving the food market.

The organization for countering monopolistic practices will be expanded. It will be separated from the Ministry of Finance and will be vested with the necessary authority. Urgent work on healing the public finance system will be undertaken, among other means by a fundamental reduction in the number of the various specialized funds. They cloud the picture of the entirety of state finances and hamper public control over expenditure from the public coffers.

The preparation of a fundamental reform of the tax system is a matter of great importance. It will embrace the drafting and introduction of an authentic tax on personal incomes. The scale of its progression will not, however, conflict with the basic aim of mobilizing the tremendous but currently inert resources of human initiative and enterprise in our society.

We shall speed up the creation of a banking system which is imperative for every contemporary market economy. This requires changes in the present banking system in order to raise it to the level existing in economically developed countries. The obstacles to the formation of new commercial banks must be removed.

The steps cited as examples will initiate a process of transferring to a system which, although it is not perfect, is one of known experience. This creates the greatest chance to achieve adequate and better living conditions. It is a system in which, thanks to efficient coordination between its individual cells, people can work at a far more peaceful pace and at the same time far more productively than up to now.

Esteemed chamber! There is a great barrier on the path to such an economy in the form of galloping inflation. As I have already stated, the steps which we are to take in the coming weeks will not be capable of solving that problem but can only counteract the rise in the pace of price increases. In connection with this, work is already being carried out on a package of more decisive measures whose aim is the control of inflation. The fundamental thing must be the total elimination of the inflow of unbacked money to the economy. It is, after all, the fuel of inflation. The administrative removal of the administrative control of prices, apart from absolutely specific exceptions, will enable firm and consistent measures in this sphere. In turn, it will facilitate the elimination of the mass shortages of goods on the market and of lines, and, finally, after a interim rise prices might quickly stabilize. At the same time we shall also decisively work toward the convertibility of the zloty with a uniform and stabilizing currency rate.

It must, however, be stressed that there is no example in the economic history of the world, where the suppression of such a high rate of inflation has been possible without serious social distress and also in the form of the collapse of some enterprises and the unemployment associated with this. The artificial subsidizing of unprofitable economic units will disappear as the movement of unbacked money stops. It is highly likely that this may cause a temporary fall in production and, in connection with this, a further fall in the public's standard of living.

However, the moment inflation is suppressed and shortages liquidated it will be possible to begin the process of economic development based on healthy foundations. No other variant creates such an opportunity.

The possibility of emergence or aggravation of certain social problems will probably place the trade union movement in a difficult position. We realize this and expect that the trade unions, aware of the country's difficult situation and the shortage of easy solutions, will be in favor of reforms. These reforms are, after all, supposed to result in us having more to share. The government will do everything to alleviate the pain connected with the suppression of inflation. We will especially stress the development of employment exchanges as well as institutions which will facilitate changing the qualifications of employees whose enterprises will collapse. We will also create conditions which will favor the emergence of workplaces. Insufficient development of services, the retail network, and small-scale manufacturing make it possible for the economy to absorb many working people.

We will also introduce or strengthen other elements of social welfare protection: benefits for those who will lose work included. We must be aware, however, that all this is connected with budget expenditure and may only have such a scope which does not collide with the principal aim of reducing inflation. Such aid will therefore be limited. We see the need to revalorize old age pensions and disability pensions as well as to update the value of other welfare benefits, to prevent the lowering of living standard of the poorest social groups and the widening of the gap between them and the professionally active groups.

There is also a difficult situation in agriculture and in the entire food economy. Especially troublesome to farmers is high inflation and the market's lack of means of production. Implementation of the presented program aimed at rescuing the economy will remove these problems. This will not take place right away, but the situation where the farmer has money but cannot buy tools for his work will disappear. We also see the need to urgently undertake additional activities for the sake of the Polish countryside. Among them is the liberalization of land transfers, which should as quickly as possible find itself in the hands of those who are capable of making the best use of it. The freedom of land transfers will enable an improvement of the agrarian structure. The government also perceives the need for the development of extra-agrarian spheres of production in the countryside which will enable the provision of employment and the conditions for dignified life for people currently working in farms that are too small from the economic point of view. At the same time, this will improve services in the countryside. We also see the need to develop in the countryside the infrastructure that has been so neglected so far.

May it please the House! The action program presented here, having as its aim above all the defeat of inflation, is a road that is difficult but it is the only one. For we must all ask ourselves the question of what will take place if we do not take such decisive actions. Money, indexation, and the salaries paid to workers in the public sector already draw after them and will draw after them an increase in prices. At a certain point, this growth in prices can bring about uncontrolled wage increases for productive workers who have the greatest clout. These increases will, in turn, cause an echo in the form of increased payments for farmers and the public sector on the basis of the indexation law. All of this could cause a still greater movement of prices upwards. Meanwhile, prices in August rose by 50 percent and economists predict a 40 percent rise in September.

If this continues we would have, within the coming year, a rate of inflation of more than 4,000 percent. This would mean that a bread roll would cost cost not Z40 but Z1,600, a liter of petrol Z20,000, and a dollar would be worth Z440,000. There is, however, no real guarantee that the monthly price movement will not be higher than it has been up to now. At such a high rate of inflation the motivation to produce disappears and farmers do not sell grain which has a greater value for them than money which is falling in value.

The collapse of the system can only, sooner or later, result in sharp social tensions which would only be a step away from general turmoil in Poland. That is the very probable scenario of events if we delay in making these difficult but imperative decisions. If we make them and carry them out to the end, although we will go through a difficult period, we will have a far better chance than today to organize the work of all of society.

Esteemed chamber! I would like to express hope that international financial institutions will give Poland important help in its efforts to radically stabilize the economy and to carry out fundamental institutional reforms. We are also counting on the fact that, in view of the complexity of our situation, friendly governments will make the difficult and socially painful process of reforms easier for Poland by providing financial help. We also hope for understanding and credit facilities from foreign private banks. We are aware of the fact that a condition for receiving such help is the consistent implementation of the raw program put forward. At the same time, I would like to emphasize the particular significance of time in our situation and thus I would like to reiterate to our foreign partners that he who helps fast helps twice. We continue to attach great significance to economic relations with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries. We are also vitally interested in close relations with the EC. We want our economy to be increasingly more open to the world.

The renewal of diplomatic relations with the Holy See is a historic fact. I also regard the normalization of relations with other countries, especially with those with which they have been broken off, as important. We need a breakthrough in relations with the FRG. The people of both countries have already gone much further than the government. We count on the clear development of economic relations and we want real reconciliation comparable to that which has taken place between the Germans and the French. It is also in our interest to improve cooperation, especially economic cooperation, with the newly industrialized countries of Asia, Africa, the Pacific, the Middle East, and Latin America.

The development of events directly after the war gave birth to the conviction among Poles that the West had foresaken Poland, agreeing to the limitation of its sovereignty. At the same time, for years—especially during the recent difficult period—we have received from them proof of warm feelings and solidarity. The time has now come for a new approach to mutual relations. The full opening of Poland to the West is impossible without full understanding on the other side of our problems and aspirations. Our indebtedness causes a great problem for our foreign policy. We do not ask for charity, but for investment—capital and technological—commitment to benefit all. Our economy must be made healthy through our own work. However, we want our creditors to bear in

mind that this is not just an economic question, but that there is associated with it the success of the political transformations in our country that are important for the whole of Europe.

I recognize that it is indispensible to carry out in the near future certain changes in the structure of the government. Because of the job communications have to perform in a modern state, I wish to separate out from the Ministry of Transport, Shipping and Communications—as it has hitherto existed—a separate Ministry of Communications. I recognized as correct the observations put forward by foresters and also by people associated with environmental protection, and I wish to separate our forestry from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Industries and attach it to the Ministry of Environmental protection and natural Resources. The appropriate draft laws will be presented to the esteemed House in the near future.

At the same time, I wish to inform the esteemed House that I intend to appoint Professor Jezry Kolodziejski as secretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers for state territorial administration. I intend to create the office of secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to which I wish to appoint Boleslaw Kulski. In order to prepare the necessary reforms in local self-government, I wish to appoint a special government plenipotentiary. Over and above that, I will inform public opinion in the near future of the appointment of a new chairman of the Radio and Television Committee and a new government press spokesman.

I have familiarized myself with the course and results of the interviews in Sejm commissions.

I would like to stress that the composition of the government constitutes a team chosen in a carefully considered and intentional way. Therefore, I ask the House for full acceptance of all members of the Council of Ministers.

Mr Speaker, may it please the House. The Polish people must start a new page of their history. Hatred, which could become an enormous destructive force, must be eliminated from mutual relations. As a nation we must break the feeling of hopelessness and jointly take up the challenge of the moment which is facing us: the task of overcoming the economic disaster and the restructuring of the state. The government, which will be appointed by the Sejm today, will take up this double task. We do not promise that it will be easy for everyone. As a nation, however, we do not stand on lost ground if we make an effort, have patience, and have the will to act. Let us have trust in the spiritual and material forces of the nation. I believe God will help us to make a giant step on the way which opens before us. [applause]

PZPR Deputy Orzechowski Makes Sejm Speech

LD1209161689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1035 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Speech by Polish United Workers Party, PZPR, Sejm Deputy Marian Orzechowski to the Sejm—live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the house: Together with millions of television viewers and radio listeners, we have been listening to the programmatic speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki with the greatest interest. It would be difficult to comment on the speech in an in-depth and full manner on the spur of the moment. The leadership of my party and the PZPR Central Committee will meet in a few days' time in order to adopt a comprehensive stance on the programmatic intentions of the new government. This will be, at the same time, a reply to the request of the premier for our party, and for other political forces to define anew its role and attitudes in the face of transformations which are taking place. In this situation my speech, prepared during the break in today's debate, can only be a preliminary stance of the PZPR parliamentary floor group on this issue.

May it please the house, a new page is turning in the contemporary history of our fatherland. We are making a great historic effort in Poland; a practical process of the creation of a civic society is beginning, a society organized in a socialist, legal state of parliamentary democracy. This process will be led by a government formed on a completely new political principle, the government of the coalition of Solidarity, the ZSL [United Peasant Party], and the SD [Democratic Party] with the participation and support of all political forces represented in the parliament. For the 2 million-strong membership and candidate members of PZPR, there is nothing more valuable than the interests of the nation and its state. In the name of these highest values we have accepted the invitaion to participate in the work of the new government and a considerable proportion of the responsibility of its mission. My party is not moving to the opposition, and under no circumstances will it appear as a destructive force along the well-known principle of the worse the better. We shall govern jointly and be jointly responsible for the fate of the nation and the state. The PZPR, with its political, cadre, organizational, and intellectual potential, will support all the initiatives and actions of the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki which encourage the extrication of Poland from the depth of the crisis, the strengthening of its political and economic sovereignty, all of which will serve the resolution of civilization problems of Poland and Poles today and tomorrow. In its attitude to the work of the government my party will be guided by the principal criterion of protecting the welfare and economic interests of the workers and of all the working people, having in mind the values and goals connected with humanistic and democratic socialism, in accordance with the principles formulated at the 10th plenum of our party's Central Committee.

Taught by the experience of the past few years, we will listen carefully to the opinions formulated by the leaderships of the trade unions of all currents, including the largest trade union center, the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ], and wherever the specific decisions of the Council of Ministers or of particular ministers contradicts the basic interests of the working people the party will adopt positions of creative criticism and constructive opposition. We want to believe, however, that such a necessity will not arise.

In the framework thus specified, the PZPR declares full support for and loyalty to the mission of the new government. Its formation met with the justified hopes of the decisive majority of society, and though there is no lack of danger, the chances are great and they must quite simply not be wasted. The success of this government would have inestimable value; it would be utterly historic. Its failure could be a catastrophe for Poland and Poles.

The program presented in the expose by the premier must evoke respect and recognition. The reformatory impetus and boldness, the radicalism of desires, with a high degree of realism and far-sightedness in the formulation of intentions, these are just a few of the evaluations that come to mind. The complication of the material is, however, enormous. Those who have already had the opportunity to steer the ship of state best know how often it is difficult to transform into action even the most correct of declarations and intentions, gain measurable and socially satisfactory results. Experience has taught us more than once, and bitterly, that evaluations should be made on the basis of results, not just stopping with the declaration. In the politico-social sphere, the program of the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki makes concrete the concept accepted or else presented at the Roundtable. we rediscover therein, as members of the PZPR, the essence of the programmatic decisions and agreements of the 10th Plenum of January this year. This is a good omen for the future. Of course, we are aware that when two people say the same that does not always mean the same.

With this remark, the PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group grants these intentions of the government full support. This will find expression in many legislative initiatives with which we will shortly come forward, for instance the matter of the law on parties and the law on assemblies, and also in the readiness to support the legislative initiatives of other parliamentary floor groups, and especially the government, initiatives ensuing from the implementation program of its intentions.

At the same time we will be governed by the principle that indispensable changes and reforms should be introduced quickly but in a thorough and fundamental manner in the conditions of stabilization and social calm. The parliament of this term stands before enormous legislative work. But in order for what is being newly created to succeed, it is indispensable to preserve a kind of equilibrium between change and continuity.

Nobody states that the past 45 years in Poland was a period of achievements and successes only. But it would also be a great exaggeration to announce—and there are such voices—that it was an uninterrupted succession of failures, that everything so far has been unsuccessful and bad. Nobody has the right to dismiss the historical achievement of the life of two generations, tens of thousands of workers, working people and the whole society. Throughout these years our nation achieved great progress in civilizion, created an enormous amount of grand and lasting values, although far from measuring up to present aspirations and expectations.

Socialism in Poland has not been depleted and is not passing into the past. In Poland what collapsed was only the system of economic management and exercise of authority, as well as the organization of social life so far. In its place, in a difficult process of searching, there emerges—and should be established possibly quickly—a new, different system, based however, within the framework of principally the same institutional formation.

A radical new quality, of civilization, free from the burdens of the past, is vitally needed for Poland and the Poles. We need our own national road to implement the ideas of democracy and humanism, self-management and solidarity, pluralism and progress, equality of opportunity and social justice, self-realization and welfare for every individual. Finally, we need the effective road understood in the new manner and created in the new manner. The majority of Polish society is today simply tired, plagued by the enormity of every day troubles. A considerable part of the working people, old age pensioners, and disability pensioners included, as well as families with many children, are sharply affected by the effects of the economic crisis. Social impatience is growing; everyone wants changes for the better, but visions and plans for these changes are different, often mutually contradictory.

Poland's extremly difficult economic situation compels radical undertakings conducive to an effective stabilization and reform of the economy. Let's look truth straight in the eye—Poland cannot count on any economic miracle, any radical and redeeming leap, any dollar godsend. Our bad situation is a result among other things of the low efficiency and general degradation of work, which in essence has an institutional dimension. Radical reform might and ought to create conditions and motivation of better work, but the reform is not going to work for people. A great effort by everyone is necessary—an increase in the feeling of responsibility for the state of Poland and the living standards of the whole of society. We deeply believe that the new government will organize well and effectively support that effort. A difficult policy is necessary here, at times quite simply painful, but there is simply no other way out.

The implementation of the economic reforms ought to be embodied in a suitable program. Such a program was created at the beginning of the 1980's; however, in aggregate it turned out to be insufficent. Thus a new

program is needed, free of ideological prejudices, rational, and characterized by pragmatism. Reforming with awareness and with a clear definition of what is being aimed at is necessary. Reformatory transformations must only be made as fast as is possible, but at the same time they ought to be responsibly thought out and their social effects on today and tomorrow taken into consideration. From that point of view it is difficult to assess the program presented hot off the press to the end. It will surely be made more specific beforehand and be enriched by a definition of the paths leading there, as well as by the medium and longterm range deadlines for implementing the aims outlined. Milieux of well-informed, reform-minded party economists, managers, theoreticians, and practicians are ready to help work undertaken in this sphere by the government.

We share the conviction that the basic aim for today is to slow down the sharply increasing inflation, while at the same time having the assurance of growth in market production. We also believe that the long term goal of the reform ought to be a transfer to a market economy. We support the efforts for a demonopolization of the economic structures, the introduction of a market regulation of prices and convertibility of the zloty, as well as other intentions associated with this. We shall support, but not uncritically, the market which as with every other institutional solution must also be assessed as to what extent it satisfies the needs of working people and the whole of society. The economic experiences of the most prosperous states prove that the the market mechanism must be accompanied by state inteventionism, assuring the implementation of important social interests. Poland quite simply is not, and cannot be, a guinea-pig for various golden- mouthed healers, disciples of a boundless free-market strategy. The real creation of chances and conditions for the development of all the property-ownership sectors is necessary, so that the principle that the most efficient wins can be achieved in practice. Today, despite appearances, state firms which feel most painfully the wage and price restrictions continue to find themselves in the worst situation.

We are in favor of such changes in relations of ownership as would most fully enable us to combine high economic efficiency, social justice and a nonsubservient status of the working people with their influence on management processes. All transformations in relations of ownership should take place under special public scrutiny. Privatization, of which today we hear so much, cannot become a new crude dogma, the reciprocal of the former dogma about universal nationalization.

We are in favor of a consistent achievement of the roundtable decisions concerning agriculture. Our party's policy in respect of the countryside and agriculture assumes a consistent observance of the principle of lasting equality of sectors, that is, an indiscriminate attitude to all farms, equally large and small, private, cooperative and state-owned. A permanent tenet of this policy remains respect for, and development of farmers' and countryside self-management, and efforts to equalize the social conditions of the inhabitants of the countryside and the towns. We shall also support decisions to develop cooperation between the sectors, and other undertakings which integrate agriculture and the countryside with the whole system of national economy.

An important criterion for the new government to meet public expectations will be its ability to adjust the state's social policy to the market restructuring of the economy and the principles of the new economic order. In this context we oppose the use of unemployment as an instrument of economic and social policy, oppose undermining the principle of work for all those who respect it, because we believe that other ways of shaping a proper attitude to work should be used first.

Citizen Deputies, the PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group notes with great satisfaction that a crucial objective of the new government's foreign policy will continue to be the strengthening of Poland's international position and development of external political and economic relations facilitating the implementation of reforms at home. We are counting on the new government making full use of the international opportunities provided for Poland by its internal development, by continuing and enriching the policy of developing comprehensive relations with all states desiring that. Of crucial important for the interests of our people and state are relations with the socialist states, and first and foremost with the Soviet Union. The PZPR welcomes with satisfaction the government position of consistently respecting the allied obligations undertaken by our country. A different approach to this issue could have caused irreparable damage or even threatened our national security. These relations are also concerned with something more—and this is how we interpret the government's intentions—they are concerned with fundamental issues, they are concerned with our external security—including economic—and the necessary conditions for our development, including the success of the political and economic reforms launched 8 years ago and extended and accelerated now.

Poland has traditionally been, and now is becoming even more, a country open to Europe and the world.

It was not always—and certainly not most of the time—that we met—and meet—with an attitude of reciprocation. We experience it even now. We fully agree with the government's aim to achieve development with Western countries in a bilateral way, though within an integrational system, with its aim for an intensification of mutually-beneficial economic cooperation, for removing relics from the past—especially in the financial and credit field. Our society is aware of the fact that the main burden in overcoming our difficulties falls on ourselves. We count on the fact—and we have the right to count on it—that the assurances of Western partners regarding the just participation of Poland in the international division of labor will materialize. We expect a more energetic transition from declarations of good intentions to the sphere of concrete facts.

Poland wishes to participate more actively than to date in the building of a common European home. We are aware of the fact that, in the long run, this is not possible without a change in relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and a reconciliation with all Germans. But real changes and true reconciliation can only be forged on a solid basis of respect for our national interests—in their internal and external dimensions. We would like to be able to hope that the forecast of a visit of the FRG chancellor to Poland to take place in the near future will herald a breakthrough in mutually-beneficial relations on the basis of the agreement signed in December 1970.

Citizen Speaker! May it please the House! For the past few weeks broad circles of politically active compatriots were inspired by the programatic slogan—Your President, Our Premier. This mirrored the post-election composition of political forces, the aspirations of what had so far been the opposition, the hopes of important sections of society and, above all, of the deep divisions within them. Today we have not only a president but also a premier—and in a few hours' time we shall have a completely new government. Its appointment signifies revaluations are taking place in the awareness and stands of key political forces, that gradually the sharp contours which separate yours from ours are giving way—and I hope that they will continue to give way more and more. A symptom of this was the course of the whole difficult process of forming a government, and, among other things, the fruitful cooperation of the president of the Polish People's republic with the premier, as well as the talks between representativs of my party with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The climate of these talks and their results, the hopes which the great majority of Poles has in the program and the activities of the government—all this leads, in our opinion, to being able to consider the slogan, Your President, Our Premier, as out-of-date, as contrary to the logic of recent events and the situation which has arisen from them. That is why, fully supporting the appeal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers to break with hatred and the settling of accounts, I call—on behalf of the PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group—on all those whose interests are at stake.

Let us open a new chapter in Poland's political life. Let us stop splitting that which is common to us all into ours and yours. Let us think and act according to completely different categories, according to the principle our president, our premier, our government. Ours because the Polish state is common to us all, all Polish women and men. We all in a way have to start learning this truth from scratch. Ours because equally the president, the premier, and the entire government want to express the interests of the people and their state, and the strivings of all working people, rather than particular interests of social groups, parties, and ideological or political forces and orientations. Ours because that opens up in the long-term the difficult road toward national reconciliation, and today—an opportunity to integrate all responsible political forces in the face of these great challenges faced by Poland, our common and only homeland.

May it please the House, being guided by these premises, the deputies of the PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group are going to vote for appointing the government composition proposed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Thank You. [applause]

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Statements on New Cabinet

LD1309200289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Remarks by President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a reception for the new Council of Ministers at the Belweder in Warsaw on 13 September—recorded; no video available]

[Text] [Jaruzelski] The fact that we are sitting together around this table, some may consider a joke played by history, others the result of history's logic—but it is certainly a great historic experiment and a great national opportunity.

Today it is most important that this experiment succeeds. So what must be done to ensure its success? A guideline is found in the premier's expose, to which I listened, to which all of Poland listened, with great attention. In the consistent implementation of these policies lies that very great opportunity.

Without subtracting anything from any of the areas of common public life—and here I must be careful or Minister Izabella Cywinska might consider me a caveman or a barbarian—I believe that everything will be determined by the economic situation. The public consensus in this matter—together with the breath of optimism brought about by the appointment of the new government—already gives it, from the very beginning, considerable public credit. But may I be allowed—as a veteran not only of the front but also of the government—to share this experience with you. A honeymoon—I won't say the honeymoon month, since I was only given 1 week, is something every government has. This government—which is contemplating undertaking what could be called a stuntman's challenge—has a chance for this period to be fairly long, but—as we all know—it can't last forever. The prosaic commonplace will come along: there will be collisions with hard reality. One cannot have something for nothing. It will therefore be difficult to please everybody, and public opinion, as we know, is fickle. The point, therefore, is not to let the public mood and trust descend lower than the alarm level, and, first and foremost, than the perceptible efficiency of action.

All patriotic sociopolitical forces in the country should decisively support the government in its bold search for the best solutions.

To assume that the new government will be tripped up is unacceptable, amoral, and disastrous. Likewise, assumptions that the forces governing hitherto will be ousted from the sociopolitical scene are not acceptable. Only a struggle against extremist tendencies, only national reconciliation, gives the government, and thus Poland, a real chance.

I would like to share one more veteran's observation, that there is a certain characteristic regularity. People who govern have a tendency to ascribe all failures to objective factors, a difficult childhood, an unfavorable internal and external situation, etc. In turn, those who intend to govern or are starting to govern conversely point to subjective factors and, thus, to the mistakes of their predecssors. I believe the truth lies in the middle. Any other appraoch is an illusion and, as a result, a trap.

From the well-known remarks of the premier I single out with satisfaction the announcement that the democratization process will strengthen social acceptance of those elementary circumstances of the national being, which for many years have been called, in our political language, raison d'etat. A joint and most broad understanding of that idea is presently becoming more real.

The world is changing quickly. Adaptation to the rhythm of these transformations must be integrally linked to the continuity of the basic conditions of national security. I am convinced that the new government of the Polish People's Republic will exploit well the achievements and assets of our hitherto foreign and defense policy, enriching it with new values worthy of the nation and the state.

[Mazowiecki] Mr President: I want to thank you very much for what you said. As you see, sir, the government's first steps are at Mr President's, which is not only a formal act to introduce the government, but also a substantive act, since both the cooperation you mentioned, sir—my cooperation with the president—in constructing this government contributed a lot, and as I (?once) said spontaneously, when you congratulated me for the first time and wished me success here in the Belweder Palace, this success is only possible with your help, sir; really, such is the historic moment. [sentence as heard] We are counting on this good cooperation—the whole government is counting on this, and that is why our first steps have not only a formal but also a substantively thought-out character, presicely here in the Belweder. Thank you for what you said, Mr President. I think that you, Mr President, will relieve me from making a long speech, so that I don't faint again [laughter] and maybe some sort of talk will still take place here without a speech.

OPZZ Issues Statement on Mazowiecki Speech

LD1409200689 Warsaw PAP in English
1621 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—Having familiarized itself with the Sejm expose by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ has issued a statement that reads in part:

"Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki announced that certain adverse phenomena might occur. Our labour movement will not be able to treat them indifferently, and especially such social and economic threats as unemployment, significant decline in society's living standards, further drops in production and privatization of national property.

"We express a conviction that the activity of the new government will make it possible to avoid these elementary threats hitting at the existence of the majority of Polish families.

The fact that many members of the new cabinet refer to their roots in the labour movement allows us to believe that it will be their goal to restore dignity to the working people and to improve the living of Polish families. In this respect, we are ready for cooperation in implementing political, economic and social reforms."

OPZZ Leader Miodowicz Speaks to Reporters

LD1409214989 Warsaw PAP in English
1830 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—After a meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ that issued a statement on the Sejm expose by the prime minister, OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz met on Wednesday [as received] with Polish and foreign journalists.

He referred to OPZZ's stand adopted a few days earlier on threats to the existence of employees and labour veterans that appeared mainly as a result of the so-called marketization. The stand also said that the PUWP [Polish United Workers] leadership had ceased to be a political guarantor for unions affiliated to OPZZ. "It does not mean that we divorce the PUWP," Miodowicz said. "The more so as 80 percent of party members are at the same time OPZZ members."

"The goal of our meeting with the PUWP leadership was to ponder over what to do—probably together—in the future which is rather gloomy, the more so that the new government is inheriting a poor legacy in the form of regression in many fields fundamental for the working people," Miodowicz said.

Asked whether he talked with the PUWP CC first secretary, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, about bringing Premier Rakowski to account, Miodowicz said: "This is precisely how the interlocutor understood it and we did not correct him."

Miodowicz declared openness to the new government and willingness to establish active cooperation with it. "We have confidence in this government," he said.

Rakowski Interviewed on 13 September Speech

LD1409215689 Warsaw PAP in English
2109 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Lodz, Sept. 14—If we want a party of tomorrow, if we want to keep pace with the changes of times, it is not sufficient to reshuffle people on top, to change the sign-board. We should change thinking in order to keep pace with new thinking in new conditions. These were the main points in the discussion at a meeting of PUWP Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski with the party activists from Lodz Voivodship held here today.

Following the meeting Mieczyslaw Rakowski granted a short interview for PAP and television.

Q: "Nearly all questions in today's discussion concerned ideas presented in your TV address yesterday. A party of the Polish left. So what this party should be like? What kind of socialism will it represent and what will its main political base be?

A: "It is difficult to say who will be in it. It is possible only to express a desire that progressive people are members of such a party.

Q: "Thirty years ago you would be deprived of party membership for such views.

A: "Well, yes. But if someone wants to transfer what we say, see today to the 50's and he comes to conclusion: 'Well, you should have said it then', it is ridiculous.

Q: "Will a restored party of the Polish left want to seize power as every party does? Will it regain power, will it not be caught in the same trap?

A: "It depends entirely on whether party members want to fight again for power, to take over power. It will depend first of all on its inner dynamics, offensiveness, will of struggle. In fact we ruled by ourselves. Hence we say that we part with the monopoly of power. But what does it mean, or rather what did it mean? It meant that issuing decrees or regulations replaced political work and struggle for people's hearts and minds."

PZPR Media Workers Call for Party Congress

LD1409173189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] In recent weeks, Polish radio and television have become the object of haggling in current political battles. Working teams continue to be treated as subordinates. In connection with this, representatives of all radio and television party organizations met today and adopted a position in which they acknowledge as imperative the subordination of radio and television to the Sejm of the Polish Peoples Republic. The introduction of running radio and television on a managerial basis subordinate to a pluralistic programme council; the conduct of policy which unifies, not divides institutions, teams and people; the undertaking of organizational and economic-financial activity, in accordance with [words indistinct] program; the immediate improvement of the material situation and the technological base of radio and television—these were acknowledged as imperative. It was emphasized that implementing these (?proposals) would enable a conflict-free move to a new basis for the functioning of radio and television meeting public expectations.

At the same meeting, a stance was taken in which the party organizations of the radio and television called upon the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee to immediately undertake preparations for the calling of an extraordinary party congress. It was decided that the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum should take place by the end of September, which will state precisely the date of the congress and will appoint a commission for its preparation; that the congress should still take place this year; and it should work out a program for the party, a modern party of the left, to work within a civic society and within a parliamentary and democratic framework. They expressed the hope that the party leadership will take into account these demands, as poland's dramatic economic situation and the future of the PZPR demand.

Miller Addresses Skierniewice PZPR Activists

LD1409035189 Warsaw PAP in English
0014 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Skierniewice, Sept. 13—Political Bureau member, PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] Central Committee Secretary Leszek Miller met with PUWP political activists from the Skierniewice voivodship today.

Referring to Premier Mazowiecki's Sejm expose, Miller pointed to its convergance with the hitherto aims and activities of the party in the field of the reconstruction of social and political life in Poland, the functioning of the state, restructuring of the industry and securing the needs of working people.

The PUWP Central Committee secretary outlined the situation within the PUWP and preparations for the 15th plenary meeting of the Central Committee. Answering questions concerning the functioning of the party, awaiting her fundamental reconstruction and the role and place of PUWP, Miller spoke in favour of broad cooperation with all political forces. There are many good examples of cooperation between the PUWP, UPP [United Peasants' Party/ZSL] and DP [Democratic Party/SD] in rural communities and cities. Their ties and experiences should not be wasted, said Leszek Miller.

Daily Reports Walesa's 11 Sep News Conference

AU1409111989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—Lech Walesa held a news conference at the headquarters of "Solidarity" in Gdansk on 11 September. This news conference was inspired, as it were, by the presence of several teams of journalists, chiefly from the United States and Japan. Most of the questions were on the subject of Poland's domestic problems, especially the formation and future activity of the new government.

Answering a question from an American journalist, Walesa said: "It is you who see a problem with the Communists in Poland. You still see them as hostile. It is not the Communists that pose the problem you imagine, but the absurdities that they have introduced. The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] may help because there are many reformers in it."

Walesa also said that the reason why PZPR members are assuming more than two ministerial posts is that Premier Mazowiecki adhered to what is possible while forming the government. "In any case, only the ministers that are acceptable to society will remain in office," he said. However, he rejected the idea that a "Solidarity" government and Communist army could cause a crisis. "There is common sense in the country," he said, "because, as far as common sense and political maturity are concerned, communism has done us good. We will solve everything, although there might be different views here and there. There have to be, for the sake of political hygiene."

Asked whether he can imagine Poland outside the Warsaw Pact, Walesa replied: "I imagine that pacts are becoming more and more absurd. The only problem is when they will be dissolved. No worker, American or Pole, wants to fight today, and fighting really is a waste of time and money. We are heading toward a single Europe. If there is no one to fight, the whole thing will collapse. So why take the risk of fighting now? The pacts will go, the Americans and Russians will take care of that."

Asked about the dangers to the Soviet perestroyka, Walesa said that only the speed of the changes might be threatened, but the course of events in the USSR can no longer be halted. He said that the progress of the Polish reforms, the most advanced of all the socialist countries, is the result of better domestic conditions. But the Polish reforms also serve as an example of how to carry out reforms in peace, by evolutionary means.

Answering a series of questions about Polish economic problems, Walesa said that the government's business is to create the right conditions for general economic activity for Poles and for their eventual Western partners. He spoke in favor of the "Italian model," in which not even frequent changes of government affect economic life. "The Poles have no choice," he said. "They have to work better, and all this government has to do is to make it easier for them to do so, and encourage initiatives from them." He rejected the notion that society's credit of confidence in the new government will soon be exhausted, saying: "I will soon be complaining, in fact I am complaining already, that people are acting too late. For example, we should have bakeries on every street corner already, but we don't. It is I who will accuse people of not wanting any improvements. I will merely present the conditions that exist already. One can set up a business, or one can stand in line for goods. But if you want to fight, you can do it without me, I will say to them. If the right conditions for economic activity exist, it is not my fault if nothing improves. It is the fault of those who do not take advantage of these conditions."

Walesa dispelled fears over the future of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, where the management is seen as a threat to the establishment of a future company there based on American capital. "I learned about these fears, and asked the director whether he will keep his word. He said yes. Now I am waiting for Mrs. Piasecka [Barbara Piasecka-Johnson, an American of Polish origin who has offered to invest her own funds in the Lenin Shipyard] to arrive, and if something goes wrong, I personally will carry those responsible out of the shipyard in a wheelbarrow with square wheels. This is no time for jokes any more. We are embarking upon a serious struggle for the economy and Poland, and no schemer is going to spoil our work."

'Text' of Walesa 12 Sep Statement on Government

AU1509114289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Statement by L. Walesa"]

[Text] On 12 September, soon after the Sejm had approved the new government, the "Solidarity" Press Office supplied a statement by Lech Walesa on this subject. Here is the text:

For the first time in half a century, Poland has a government which millions of people can consider their own. It is headed by a man from "Solidarity," a man who is one of us. With the appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet, a different Poland is making itself heard, a Poland that has hitherto been isolated from participation in running the country and deprived of influence over the course of events in our country. This is a Poland of people who wish to live in their own independent, democratic, and prosperous state.

We are entering a new period carrying a baggage of wrongs and matters that need resolving. However, the dramatic state crisis is manifesting itself particularly in the economic sphere. We realize the chance that Poland faces, but we also realize the many dangers and fears that are the lot of the working people. We must overcome these fears together, and we must provide people with hope that the crisis will not last forever and that Poles will be able to live in harmony already during the present generation.

As chairman of the "Solidarity" independent and self-governing trade union, I declare that I will do everything possible to make this difficult task easier for the government. I know that the trade union of which I am chairman approaches these matters with a feeling of full responsibility, mindful of the future, and concerned about today's and tomorrow's standard of living. I wish the new government that it may effectively transform our country, gain essential social support for its activity, and turn out to be a government that conforms to our aspirations and to the breakthrough which Poland faces.

Presidential Spokesman's 11 Sep News Conference

AU1409155989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[PAP headline: "The President's Chancery Is Being Established"]

[Excerpts] The presidential spokesman, Wlodzimierz Lozinski, met foreign and Polish journalists at a news conference in the INTERPRESS Center [in Warsaw] on 11 September. The transcript of the conference appears below.

Ladies and gentlemen, I welcome you to the INTERPRESS Polish Press Agency Press Center. Wlodzimierz Lozinski, press spokesman of the president of the Polish People's Republic, will begin his news conference.

Good morning. I would like to begin by saying a few words. First, the president has said that he greatly approves of the efforts made by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the Sejm to form a coalition that will represent a broad coalition of forces. The president said that he hoped that such a government would be able to implement a program of socioeconomic reforms that will satisfy the needs of the nation and the state.

Second, various papers and magazines have been reporting on plans to send an appeal to the president asking that judges only be appointed once a National Judiciary Council is set up and working. I would like to say that the president has not received such an appeal. However, the very idea of setting up a council of this kind merits thought and extensive support. The president is interested in setting up such a body, which would share responsibility with him, in accordance with the "roundtable" decisions, for nominating judges of a high standard. Of course, we all want to see the establishment of a National Judiciary Council as quickly as possible so that the president can discharge his statutory functions within the appropriate period of time.

I would now like to answer your questions [passage omitted]

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: I would like to begin by apologizing for indulging in speculation, but I think that one has to address specifics. Let us assume that the present government, that of Premier Mazowiecki, temporarily suspends observance of bilateral agreements concerning citizenship and visa requirements. Would the president intervene?

Wlodzimierz Lozinski: That is a hypothetical question prompted by the situation in Hungary. I do not think that we can consider hypotheses that go so far, especially as this means that I would have to go into what is happening in Hungary and that would be inappropriate, as the decisions that were recently made there stem from the situation in Hungary, Hungary's policies, and its relations with the states that are affected by such a decision. I would not like to get involved in hypotheses concerning our state. [passage omitted]

Jackson Diehl, THE WASHINGTON POST: Could you comment on Hungary's decision to open its borders so that GDR citizens can simply leave via Hungary? Do you think that Poland could do something similar some day?

Wlodzimierz Lozinski: Hungary's decision is a decision made solely by the authorities of that country. I cannot comment on what is an internal Hungarian matter, nor can I comment on the effects of that decision. It is a matter that concerns Hungary and relations between the Hungarian authorities and the states that are directly affected by the decision, that is, the GDR and the FRG.

Juliusz Smoczynski, KURIER POLSKI: It will soon be 17 September. I would like to ask whether the president will attend any ceremonies—if, of course, any such ceremonies are organized—like those that took place on 1 September?

Wlodzimierz Lozinski: I did not ask the president about that, but what he himself experienced at that time is common knowledge. The Sejm resolution on this issue, which was passed at the end of August, is also widely known. I have nothing to add on the subject today. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski, PNB Chairman Baka Discuss Economy

LD1409223689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] How to restore the health of the economic system and how to strengthen the currency—those were the subjects of the talks held between President Wojciech Jaruzelski and the chairman of the Polish National Bank Wladyslaw Baka.

The bank chairman presented the premises of a fiscal and market policy that would aim to restrain inflation and achieve an improvement of the relations between money and the national economy.

Kuron Reviews Tasks as Labor Minister

PM1509110089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 13 Sep 89 p 13

["A.T." report on interview with Labor Minister Jacek Kuron; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[passage omitted] The economy will be the new government's test bench, so on the subject of the remedy promised by Mazowiecki let us hear from Labor Minister Kuron himself, who will have to negotiate with the labor grassroots on the Solidarity government's behalf.

[Journalist] Minister Kuron, what situation will you face?

[Kuron] A situation in which the priority will be immediately to restore the market laws, real prices, and free enterprise. So there will be bankruptcies and fewer jobs, because of the huge number of loss-making concerns that we have inherited. We are willing to provide subsidies, but not irrespective of the cost.

[Journalist] How will you work as labor minister?

[Kuron] I have lengthy experience of negotiating with the workers, have done so for 9 years under much more difficult political conditions, and am confident of a good rapport with them. I am also confident that the market will create new jobs in the services and new enterprises and that people themselves will leave the sectors that you call "dead wood."

[Journalist] Do you not fear protest reactions, violent strikes?

[Kuron] No, I do not fear violence and stress that I will never call in the police against a strike. Of course I do fear a period of strikes: It is a danger, and I hope that the strikes will be isolated and not a tide of agitations. I trust in the capacity for social mobilization alongside the government of the forces represented in this government and in parliament.

[Journalist] Is there not a danger of sabotage by the hard-line wing of the communist party? The official trade unions are declaring war on the government and accusing the party having betraying the working class....

[Kuron] The official trade union is an organization with which we want serious relations, but I do not really know whether it is possible to have serious relations with its present leaders. Has the communist party betrayed the working class? Well, in my opinion this is certainly nothing new. Be that as it may, within the communist party we also have a young class of liberal and extremely efficient technocrats. They are the most fervent supporters of capitalism in Poland and constitute an ally—neither an obstacle nor a threat.

[Journalist] Will you be a pro-capitalist labor minister?

[Kuron] No, this is impossible for a labor minister anywhere. However, my work as minister will be in line with a radical reform in the direction of the market and a reform of ownership. The government must defend the poor, those unable to defend themselves in the new economy, but the reform is indispensable, whatever social costs it may entail.

[Journalist] Why are you insisting on the reform of ownership?

[Kuron] Because experience teaches us that the right of ownership lies at the root of every freedom and that freedom and democracy are lacking wherever the right of ownership has been violated.

[Journalist] Do you have in mind Polish private owners or foreign ones too?

[Kuron] I have in mind various forms of Polish private ownership and also foreign investments. There is certainly no cause for scandal, though some will accuse us of wanting to reduce Poland to the status of a colonized state. But let us look at America: There foreign capital flows in rivers, but does that make the United States a Poland?

[Journalist] Is Kuron the critical Marxist becoming a champion of private ownership?

[Kuron] We are not dogmatic: There are several kinds of ownership; in some of his writings Marx defined capitalism as "social ownership."

[Journalist] You talk almost like Mrs Thatcher. Who will be the Polish Thatcher: you, Jaruzelski, or Mazowiecki?

[Kuron] That would be an inappropriate comparison. Mrs Thatcher had many options for reforming a system that in any case was still functioning in its own way. The point that we have in common is confidence in the market: She has succeeded in mobilizing people, and we shall see whether we can succeed in doing the same in support of our own blueprints.

[Journalist] Are you not afraid of a spiral of inflation and ungovernability, as in Yugoslavia?

[Kuron] No. In Yugoslavia a post-totalitarian system cannot provide a force of political mobilization and lacks convergence among the different projects and demands of the various parts of the country. Having said that, of course whoever wants to change things must be prepared to take risks.

Szczypiorski Sees Stabilization Before 1990

AU1409150389 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Interview with Polish writer and Senator Andrzej Szczypiorski by Joana Radzyner; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Szczypiorski] I think that our society now says: Well, we have a new government under Mazowiecki. He is a good man and a sensible man. We have broken the Communists' monopolistic power—and that is very important—and we have overcome this monopolistic power. That represents new hope. Our society says: Well, let us wait and see. We are signing a check for confidence in this government. However, how long will it last? I am a moderate optimist, and therefore I would say to the end of this year. If we do not stop inflation by the end of this year, then ... [interrupts himself] This is a last chance government.

[Radzyner] The common man is probably asking himself: What do I have to expect at all, is there a secure future at all?

[Szczypiorski] We are now experiencing an earthquake. Nervousness and unrest prevail in an earthquake. That is normal and natural. However, I believe that in the next 2, 3, or 4 months, the political and economic situation will have stabilized. What we are now experiencing is a revolution without a revolution. Thank God, this is not a bloody revolution; however, it is an immense change in Polish postwar history. In my view, it is even an immense change in the history of Europe, because this is the burial of the totalitarian system—not only in Poland, but also in Hungary, and partly also in the Soviet Union. That is extremely important for us and the whole world.

So, if such things are happening, there is of course unrest and nervousness, even though not all of the people are totally aware that they are now experiencing this historic change.

Siwicki Attends Silesian Military Council

LD1509075189 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] An extended meeting of the Military Council of the Silesian Military District was held with the participation of Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense. During the meeting Gen Siwicki briefed those present about the decisions on cadres taken by the president and the commander of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's republic, concerning the change in the post of the commander of the district. Lieutenant General Henryk Szumski, commander of the Silesian Military District since 1978, has been appointed to the post of first deputy of the chief of General Staff of the Polish Army. Lieutenant General (Tadeusz Bilecki) has been appointed to the post of commander of the Silesian Military District.

Kiszczak's Parliamentary Hearing Reported

AU1409152389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Sep 89 pp 4, 5

[Unattributed report: "Kuron Did Not Question Kiszczak"]

[Text] "Because I am beginning a ministerial career, I cannot question a colleague from the same government," said Jacek Kuron, chairman of the Ethnic Minorities Commission [and new labor minister]. "I think what Mr Kuron meant is that he does not want to question Kiszczak, because Kiszczak once questioned him under different circumstances," Kiszczak replied. "On the contrary," said Kuron, " I would very much like to question him, but I cannot."

At the request of deputies belonging to another commission, Kiszczak revealed his assets: A house (fully paid for), $5,516 in his bank account, 25 thoroughbred cows, and a bull (a present from a Western businessman). He also has a daughter who is studying German, and a son who is an officer. He has been married to an economist for 30 years.

General Kiszczak was questioned by three commissions. In each case, he presented the well-known program of removing the party from the Interior Ministry, cutting or eliminating departments "that have no right to exist in a country of parliamentary democracy," and allocating the resulting funds and personnel to the combating of crime. Some departments have already been abolished, such as those that supervised culture, education, science, and the church. However, a scientific intelligence service will be kept intact. The general claims that this department saved the national economy Z4 trillion last year.

This year, the ministry's work force will be cut by some 20 percent. The number of full-time posts in the Motorized Units of the Civic Militia will fall from 12,566 to 5,170, apart from which about 13,000 men undergoing their basic military service will serve in this organization. Once again the general spoke out in favor of preserving the Voluntary Civic Militia Reserve. He announced an end to Security service units in workplaces, and also agreed that passports ought to be issued by the administration.

The candidate for interior minister reckons that the German minority in Poland numbers around 2,500 people. "That is the number of people who are capable of proving their German identity," he told GAZETA, though he admitted that he expects no such proof from other minorities. Some 45,947 Polish citizens have emigrated to the FRG in recent years. "The registration of the Society of German Culture is not the business of my ministry, but of the courts," he said. "Personally, I am in favor of registering every organization."

He described the question of reparations for the Lemkos [an ethnic group in the western Ukraine and southeast Poland] as complicated. On the whole, in the regained

Western territories they have received better farms than the ones they left behind. The property they left behind was either destroyed or taken over by Polish citizens. How can one correct this state of affairs after all these years?"

Asked about March 1968 [an antisemitic campaign in Poland], the general said: "My attitude to these events is decidedly negative. I am ashamed to think of them. Heated excesses took place then. Many people were harmed, and they have an absolute right to return to Poland and their jobs. I presented a firm stance on this matter to the Central Committee at the time. Unfortunately, it was not accepted."

The commissions gave the candidate for interior minister their support. However, a certain number of people, we do not know exactly how many, did not support him.

OKP Officials Meet With Sejm Picketers

LD1509060389 Warsaw PAP in English
2105 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—Members of the Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) Bronislaw Geremek, Jozef Slisz and Henryk Wujec met today with participants of a picket held in front of the Sejm building since last Tuesday by members of "Freedom and Peace" (Wolnosc I Pokoj) movement.

The OKP representatives accepted most of the postulates voiced by picketers, doing now alternative military service. The claims concern principles of the service and payment for it.

PAP Reports Details of Prison Protests

LD1509062289 Warsaw PAP in English
2032 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—Prison protests have spread to over 50 out of Poland's 148 penitentiaries since the beginning of last June when they practically concerned the part of prisoner's earnings left to his disposal, director-general in the Justice Ministry, chief of the Central Management of Penitentiaries Romuald Soroko told PAP in reply to question about the causes of the protests, their scale, and possible solutions.

The first rebellion, Soroko said, was sparked by an increase of prices on cigarettes and tea. The regulations say that if a convict has financial liabilities (fines, alimonies, etc.) only ¼ of his minimum earnings is free from execution. Last June it was 4,450 Zlotys and little more than 5,500 Zlotys after August 1. The protesters were interested not in the level of their pay but rather in that fraction they could use.

These demands quickly spread over the problem of amnesty. Then appeared demands of overall change of the penal code, verification of all verdicts, etc.

Postulates concerning the verification of sentences or amnesty require political decisions. I can add that the realities of our penal institutions are now such that over 40 per cent of the convicts are habitual offenders, 10 per cent of them are multiple offenders (about 5,500 persons). I do not know whether Polish society is ready to absolve them, release, and accept.

Amidst stabilizing socio-political atmosphere in Poland, protest actions in prisons should systematically cease, Soroko said. Their apogeum was last week when protests were in 23 prisons, in this number 3 hunger strikes. Today protests continue in 10 prisons, most of them being support actions without their own postulates.

The general-director also said that there are 56.5 thousand people in penal institutions and arrests at present. Since April 1986 their number shrinks every month by the average of 1.3-1.5 thousand persons every month.

AFP Report

AU1409165289 Paris AFP in English
1633 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 14 (AFP)—Hundreds of detainees at a prison in the northern Polish city of Sztum have stopped eating and working to protest their conditions, but they are not armed and have taken no hostages, the prison director said Thursday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tadeusz Buber confirmed earlier reports from a Solidarity-associated human rights group that a serious protest was under way in the prison.

But he denied the group's report that the detainees had seized three prison employees as hostages using homemade arms manufactured in the prison's workshops.

Lt-Col Buber said around 700 of the prison's 1,000 detainees began a hunger strike Thursday while some 300 prisoners had been occupying the facility's workshops since Wednesday.

He also confirmed earlier reports that Leonard Krasulski, a member of the Solidarity movement's national executive, was at the prison and was involved in mediation between the protesters and prison officials.

Thursday's protest came after some 250 detainees in the same prison launched a hunger strike in July, calling then for better conditions including improved health protection, better food, more frequent amnesties and re-trials for some cases.

The hunger strike ended several days after it began with prison officials refusing to give in to the prisoners' demands.

According to the Helsinki Committee, a group which includes a number of Solidarity members, the revolt at Sztum is just one of "many protest movements" currently under way in prisons around Poland.

At a prison in the northern city of Czarne, nearly 1,400 detainees have refused to work since August 6 and prison workshops there have been occupied around the clock by some 240 prisoners.

The prison at Sztum is for hard labor and is reserved exclusively for repeat offenders.

Polish Journalists Board Calls for Reform

LD1409215289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The presidium of the main board of the association of journalists of the Polish Peoples Republic has expressed deep anxiety over the situation of journalists in Polish radio and television. It emphasized that the discussion taking place on the subject of the organization of the committee for radio and television must not be the cause of the nonfulfillment of the basic obligations of Polish radio and television as an employee. We ascertain, states the document, that the decisions of the journalists' collective work agreement are perpetually not implemented in Polish radio and television or implemented with an unpardonable delay and in a manner contrary to the intentions of the agreement. This places radio and television journalists in a difficult material position. The presidium demands from the leadership of the committee for radio and television the implementation of the obligations accepted during the signing of the journalists' collective agreement.

New Torun, Bydgosczc Voivodship Secretaries

LD1509061589 Warsaw PAP in English 2036 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—Zenon Piatkowski was elected first secretary of the Turun voivodship PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party/PZPR] committee during today's plenary meeting of the committee.

Jansz Zemke was elected first secretary of the Bydgoszcz voivodship PUWP committee during today's plenary meeting of the committee.

Both plenary meetings were attended by Political Bureau member, PUWP Central Committee Secretary Leszek Miller.

'Illegal Passage' of GDR Citizens Condemned

AU1409131389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1010 GMT 14 Sep 89

[From the "Romanian Press Review"]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/9/1989—The press reports the note addressed by the Foreign Ministry of the German Democratic Republic to the Foreign Ministry of the Hungarian People's Republic about the latter's facilitating the passage of GDR citizens to other states without valid papers, as well as the statement of the CTK news agency of Czechoslovakia on that situation. Referring to the same question, SCINTEIA carries a note which reads:

"The organization of the illegal passage of citizens of the German Democratic Republic from the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany, in defiance of the bilateral accords and the international conventions, is an instance of open interference in the internal affairs of the GDR, of violation of its sovereignty.

"Public opinion in Romania resolutely disapproves of such actions that run counter to the spirit of inter-state understanding and mutual regard, to the fundamental norms of international law. The provocation organized against the German Democratic Republic, the first state of workers and peasants on German land, runs in utter contradiction to the real human rights, serving only the revenge-seeking, revisionist and chauvinistic circles interested in promoting a policy contrary to normal relations among independent and sovereign states.

"Romania rejected and most firmly rejects such actions that account for gross instances of interference in other countries' internal affairs, running counter to the principles of relations included in the UN character, in the Helsinki Final Act, in other international documents.

"The interests of peace and security in Europe, the general interests of all peoples call for the cessation of any interference in other states' domestic affairs, of any hostile action to socialist countries, to the states' independence and sovereignty, for the strict observance of realities, of the new principles of international relations".

Ceausescu Receives Departing Turkish Ambassador

AU1209193289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 12/9/1989—On September 12, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Suleyman Kyar Gunden, ambassador of the Republic of Turkey, on a farewell call at the end of his mission to Romania.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the fine relations between Romania and Turkey and the wish was expressed to further expand them.

The Turkish ambassador warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu, the State Council and the Romanian Government for the support he was granted in fulfilling his mission to Romania.

Mongolian Parliamentarians Meet Press, Depart

AU1209193489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1754 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 12/9/1989—On September 12, the parliamentary delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, who paid a visit to Romania, met with representatives of the Romanian press.

In his statement on the occasion, the chief delegate, Lodongin Rinchin, chairman of the People's Great Hural, expressed deep satisfaction at their having been received by President Nicolae Ceausescu, an interview which he considered the highlight of their visit.

Showing that during their talk with the Romanian head of state questions had been approached related to the collaboration between Romania and Mongolia, the speaker said that further possibilities had been identified to expand and deepen the Romanian-Mongolian relations in the economic and technical fields, as well as in other areas of mutual interest.

The speaker highlighted the role and importance of the cooperation between the parliaments and parliamentarians of the two countries. He expressed appreciation for the actions and initiatives of Romania and of President Nicolae Ceausescu for disarmament, stability and security the world over.

The Mongolian parliamentary delegation left Romania the same day.

The Mongolian guests were seen off by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, by deputies and other officials.

Also present was Osoryn Ghenden, Mongolia's ambassador in Bucharest.

Deng Thanks Ceausescu for Birthday Message

AU1209192789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 89 p 6

[Telegram from Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, thanking President Nicolae Ceausescu for birthday greetings]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

I wholeheartedly thank you for your congratulatory message on my 85th birthday.

I am convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the parties, countries, and peoples of China and Romania will further consolidate and develop, to the benefit of the socialist construction in our two countries and of the cause of defending world peace.

I sincerely wish you much health, long life, energy, and new and ever greater successes in your highly responsible activity, so as to further lead the Romanian people in the socialist construction and development of the fatherland.

Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission

Role of Socialist Property in Society Noted

AU1109135689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1033 GMT 11 Sep 89

["Socialist Property at the Basis of Romania's Many-sided Development"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/9/1989—Romania's experience proves that socialism cannot have another economic base but socialist property. One cannot conceive the existence of a socialism which relies on forms of private property that inevitably leads to exploitation and growing polarization of society between the poor and the rich. The nature of the socialist system, its possibilities for development and maturation lie precisely in the relations that are established between societal members while jointly owning the means of production and its results with a view to meeting the socialist owners material and spiritual demands, the fast and multilateral progress of society.

This aggregate of economic and social relationships radically changes the working people's situation in production and in society, generates economic and social links which reflect the unity of interests and aspirations of all social classes and categories, the elimination of any form of oppression and exploitation, the achievement of genuine equality of rights, non-discriminatory working and living conditions, therefore an equitable socioeconomic medium for all the members of society. Socialist property has radically changed the relationship between manpower and production means, has made the triple quality of working people manifest, bringing their interests as producers into accord with those of socialist owners and beneficiaries of the national wealth.

Socialist ownership lies at the basis of the democratic functioning of the national economy, of the achievement of worker self-management. At the same time, it provides prerequisites for a unitary management of the economic and social life on the basis of the national plan as well as for the progress of society by highly economically using the material and labour resources of society. The role of socialist ownership appears quite clear in the powerful development of production forces, in the elimination of backwardness and the bringing of economic gaps in a short time, in the making of a modern economy.

After 1965 long-ranging measures were taken in Romania both for the making of deep-going quantitative, qualitative and structural changes in the material object of public property and for the appropriation, ownership and utilization of the means of production and of its results, for the manifestation of the working people's attribute of collective owners of the means of production. The fact has steadily been considered that the consolidation and growth of socialist property, and the improvement of the means of well administering it are essential prerequisites for the revolutionary development of society, a way of avoiding the occurrence of any form of exploitation.

In the years of socialist construction, a solid technical and material base has been created in Romania. The national wealth amounts now to 5,178 billion lei, 21 times more than in 1945. The productive fixed assets, the main components of socialist property, sum up about 3,600 billion lei now from only 160 billion lei in 1945. Worth mentioning is the fact that 90 per cent of the current productive fixed assets were put into operation in the last 24 years. With this technical equipment as a basis, the Romanian industry turns out today 135 times more than in 1945, agriculture increased its production over tenfold and the national income rose over 40 times, of which 33 times after 1965.

The high dynamism of the production forces in Romania, of the national income and national wealth growth clearly shows that Romania turned into an industrial-agrarian country with high civilization standards, in less than five decades, only by consolidating the socialist property.

As the documents for the 14th RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress stress, in the next five-year plan period (1991-1995) and afterwards, the policy will be promoted of consolidating the people's and cooperative socialist property, which is an objective demand of socialist construction, of the continuous advancement of production forces, of a higher standard of living, the ensurance of national independence and sovereignty and Romania's advance on the road of civilization and prosperity.

Diplomats' Acquittal in U.S. Court Commented

LD1409180589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl expressed satisfaction on Thursday with the fact that Yugoslavia's Consul General in Chicago Bahrudin Bijedic and director of the New York branch of the Ljubljanska Banka Vinko Mir had been acquitted of unjustified charges of involvement in a money laundering scheme in the United States. The money allegedly originated from illicit drug trafficking.

We highly appreciate the objectivity of the Federal Court in Philadelphia, said Vajgl, but the harassment by U.S. authorities and damage to Bijedic's and Mir's personal integrity and Yugoslavia's reputation can hardly be justified and rectified.

FEC's Markovic Receives IBM Vice President

LD1309223589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic received Renato Rivers, vice president of the well-known American firm, IBM. The two sides expressed mutual interest in intensifying cooperation between Yugoslav enterprises and IBM.

Sundic Examines Gorbachev's 'Delicate Position'

LD1309035389 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Here is our foreign political commentary on the upheavals in Eastern Europe and Soviet-U.S. relations, i.e. what chances does Eduard Shevardnadze have of arranging a first meeting between Bush and Gorbachev during his impending visit to Washington? Here is Milika Sundic:

[Sundic] A visit by Boris Yeltsin to the United States and his statements about the possible fate of perestroyka and of Mikhail Gorbachev will probably not disrupt the timetable of the expected and already agreed-upon moves on the Moscow-Washington line, but they could make more difficult Gorbachev's efforts to stabilize the internal situation in the Soviet Union. At the moment, what an exhausted and very concerned Mikhail Gorbachev needs least are extreme advice from any of the factions in the country which do not seem to take into account the real potentials of the process of democratization now in full swing in the Soviet Union and the increasingly evident resistance to it, especially in the economic, ideological, and interethnic spheres.

In his latest statement on Soviet television, Gorbachev clearly identified all the dangers likely to threaten the Soviet Union if perestroyka were to be jeopardized or threatened. On this occasion, he distanced himself from both extreme left and extreme right deviations.

It is not clear how Boris Yeltsin found himself in the United States 15 days before Eduard Shevardnadze's announced visit to Washington. If, however, this is part of a game against Gorbachev and future Soviet-U.S. agreements, this could mean that the Americans expect further exacerbation in the upheavals in Eastern Europe and that they are in no hurry to see Gorbachev and Bush meet, which, it should be remembered, is the main objective of Shevarnadze's coming visit to the United States, where he is to meet Baker and have talks with Bush at the White House.

It is true that there is no specific agreement between Moscow and Washington on a meeting between Bush and Gorbachev, but as far as Moscow is concerned, it is interested in seeing that this meeting takes place as soon as possible. Not long ago, the two superpowers concluded an agreement in principle on chemical weapons, and as things stand now, there are all the necessary preconditions for similar progress to be made in reducing conventional weapons and military forces. At t moment, this depends mostly on the United States, and especially on developments in relations between the two blocs, which suddenly have assumed an undesired course, especially now that the crisis surrounding the East German refugees—to which Moscow has reacted sharply—has worsened.

This reaction was directed primarily against Bonn, but it also could be interpreted as applying to the United States, especially if the Soviet leadership insists on its view that behind the crisis are attempts to destabilize East Germany and its position within the Warsaw Pact. In any case, the fact that the Warsaw military alliance has already been considerably dented by developments in Poland and Hungary, and now in the GDR, could spell fresh trouble for Mikhail Gorbachev in that it could strengthen the position of those forces in the Soviet Union which refuse to reconcile themselves to the loosening of the reins in the Eastern Bloc, all the more so since there is no similar disintegration in the West and since the West is now in a position to influence events in the East more than ever before.

Disruptions of this kind in relations between the two military alliances, which could have consequences for relations between superpowers, could jeopardize all that was accomplished at the four meetings between Gorbachev and Reagan, and could threaten Gorbachev's and Bush's chances of continuing the process of international and bilateral detente.

In our view, the danger of spoiling Soviet-U.S. relations will be avoided only if the United States realizes the delicate position in which Mikhail Gorbachev has been for a rather long time.

LCY Member Racan Receives USSR Ambassador

LD1309220589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—Ivica Racan, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, today received Vadim Loginov, USSR ambassador to the SFRY.

The two sides discussed international topics and the activities of the LCY and the CPSU in this sphere.

Hungarian Demilitarization Initiative Considered

LD1409175789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 14 (TANJUG)—Hungary's initiative calling for an expansion of economic and other types of cooperation with the neighbouring countries and for reduced military presence in the border area with Yugoslavia and Austria will be examined both from trilateral point of view and from the aspect of European security, spokesman of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Ivo Vajgl said today.

The initiative was announced by president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) Rezso Nyers on September 8.

On that occasion, he told a press conference in Budapest that the HSWP had proposed to the Hungarian Government to offer to Yugoslavia and Austria to create a demilitarized zone, reduce military spending and launch closer contacts in the economic, cultural, tourist, environmental and arts fields.

Nyers said that Hungary would unilaterally withdraw its offensive weapons from the border with it non-aligned and neutral neighbours (Yugoslavia and Austria) by at least 50 kilometres inside its territory. The first step, he said, would be to remove 200 tanks (about 50 per cent) from the zone by the end of the year.

He also conveyed a statement by the HSWP Central Committee saying that if Belgrade and Vienna each agree to set up the 50-KM-wide demilitarized zone, it could later be expanded to be twice that size.

It was also proposed that top-level officials of the three countries meet at least once a year in that region to discuss the promotion of trilateral cooperation, the setting up of free trade zones, expanding small border trade and setting up natural reserves and other questions.

LCY Central Committee Proceedings Reported

LD1209113689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0901 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The 26th session of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee opened in the SFRY Assembly building soon after 0900 this morning. The LCY Central Committee will discuss proposed ideopolitical bases for changing and amending the LCY statute, a number of cadre issues, and will also adopt its stands on the development of interethnic relations on the basis of socialist self-management. This topic was discussed at the last session of the LCY Central Committee.

Before the debate on the main topic of today's agenda began, Filip Vukovic, member of the LCY Central Committee, asked that a debate on the ideopolitical nature of attacks on the personality and work of Comrade Tito be included on the agenda today. Under a proposal by the LCY Central Committee Presidium, debate of this issue has been postponed until the next LCY Central Committee session. [passage omitted]

Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that in view of the fact that the issue deserves good and thorough preparation, the debate should be postponed until the next session. In the meantime, work will begin on formulating the duties and responsibilities of the LCY Central Committee and of its Presidium regarding this issue. [passage omitted]

Following Ivan Brigic's introductory report, Milan Pancevski informed the Central Committee that on two occasions the LCY Central Committee Presidium had discussed the ideological basis of the statute. The conclusion reached was that a debate on the issue should be conducted parallel with discussion of the document on the transformation of the League of Communists [LC]. The Presidium view is that the proposals agreed upon should be put forward now since work on the new statute will not begin until after the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress, and will be carried out together with the work on a new LCY program.

The first participant in the debate on the ideopolitical grounds for changes and amendments in the party statute, Branko Caratan, said that it is absurd to discuss this issue before the document on transforming the LCY has been adopted. The statute should ensue from the document and not vice versa, he said noting that unless the document is adopted first there will be "changes without changes," in other words we will have "retrograde changes."

We want to change the statute although we have yet to agree on the key issues of the party and social transformation. At the moment we agree only on the need for democratization in the LC and in society as a whole, on the need to separate the party and authority. It is on these two points that the proposed ideopolitical grounds are weakest. [passage omitted]

Caratan went on to identify a number of, as he put it, controversial sections of the proposed ideopolitical bases for changes in the statute: the role of the republican and provincial organizations in formulating LCY policy; the issue of extending the mandate of the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and democratic centralism. All these issues are of a serious nature and

cannot therefore be resolved by organizational combinations but rather by radical changes in the LC and in society as a whole.

If we fail to understand this, the LCY will find itself in a position where it will have to defend some of its principles from positions of mere interest and not as a concept.

Nikola Matovski, member of the commission which drew up the proposed grounds for changes in the statute, noted that the commission's work was greatly hampered by a tight deadline and by the fact that the document on transformation in the LCY has not yet been adopted.

Matovski stressed that the existing statute with its 153 articles is too complicated and cumbersome and that frequent changes have disrupted the coherence of its content. The statute must be shorter and simpler. This will be possible only after the 14th extraordinary LCY congress when work starts on a new party program and statute. [passage omitted]

We must rid ourselves of the habit of postponing discussions on crucial issues, Ahmet Hodzic warned and went on to stress that there has alredy been a delay in the work to prepare the 14th extraordinary LCY congress and on drawing up congress documents. He urged that republican and provincial LC congresses be held by mid November at the latest. This will make it possible to elect delegates and prepare documents and stances for the extraordinary congress on time.

Having drawn attention to numerous shortcomings, imprecision, and even contradictions in the text of the proposed bases, Hodzic went on to say that he would like to see the document stressing that the LCY is a united revolutionary organization and a leading ideopolitical force in society and not a league of republican and provincial parties.

The right to differing opinions is a basic right without which there is no democracy, Rodoljub Etinski said. It is, however, dangerous when differences in opinion become factions and a cause of struggle inside the party. The most dangerous situation is when differences in opinion are crystallized along national lines. If the right of veto were to be introduced in the decision-making process in the LCY its main negative effects would be to block the formulation of the LCY's political stand, i.e. it would paralyse the LC in its activity to tackle the most important issues of development of the Yugoslav community. [passage omitted]

Statutory changes should be carried out in line with reform commitments, Lev Kreft stressed and went on to suggest that, if need be, alternative proposals should be put forward for changing the statute. People will no longer accept party monopoly. Insistence on a monolithic unity is an illusory type of organization.

Having called for an end to the practice where the state is a transmission instrument of the party, Kreft emphasized the need for free elections if the LC wishes to compete for the leading role in society. He criticized the fact that the proposed changes in the statute do not tackle some of the important but controversial issues and that statutory changes will not be carried out before the next congress. [passage omitted] [TANJUG take 12 not received]

We must rid ourselves much faster of all that has become a part of us: our obsession with unity without differences; the obsession with vanguard, the obsession with the idea that communists are a special kind of people, and of similar obsessions, Franc Setinc said. In his view, deeper changes are needed in the way the LC is organized, in its internal relations, and in the way it functions within society.

The ideological departure points for changing the statute, which are under discussion here, must stimulate transformation in the LC, he stressed. The process of transformation has not yet begun in the main fabric of our organization, its parts and structures. In parts it has even been halted or is displaying a tendency toward returning to the old model of the party which suited the one-party system. If the latter is allowed to continue we may find ourselves in the same situation as the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], Setinc warned. [passage omitted]

The relationship between the majority and the minority must not, in his view, be a static one but rather a dynamic one. It has to become a part of the creative process within the organization, part of its deeper life. We must not forget that we still have to repay our debt to those individual people who were unjustly condemned because they came into conflict with the "official line", Setinc added. Time has shown that the majority of them had often been mistaken. This has already been realized by some but in some parts, unfortunately, differentation is on such a scale that someone is bound to regret it at some future stage in the same way that we now regret the injustice of the 70s and before that, he stressed. [passage omitted]

Pejanovic stressed the need for a precise distinction between regular, extraordinary, and early congresses and their roles. The changed statute should also specify the issue of political rehabilitation, as well as all present, insufficiently clear regulations which could lead to the federalization of the LC, Milica Pejanovic stressed and assessed that the usefulness of the political school in Kumrovac should be examined. [passage omitted]

Dragomir Draskovic drew attention to the danger of various "backward-looking reformistic forces" curbing efforts for the socialist transformation of the society.

Is the LC embarking on changes from the standpoint of a vanguard or from the standpoint of a party? Draskovic asked. Advocating the former, he pointed out that some LC parts coordinate actions more successfully with various alternative associations and movements, than within the LC.

Reacting to the speech by France Setinc, Draskovic said that one who holds that democratic centralism has no historical value, must provide another principle on the basis of which the LC organization can function.

If we still feel the need to give cohesion and unity to the working class, then we cannot abandon democratic centralism. Draskovic believes that within the LC, talks on majority-minority relations are held in a party manner, which creates room for political pluralism of the bourgeois-type. This is in contradiction to the document on the LCY transformation.

The minority should be tolerated: It can correct party policies by criticizing them. But its cohesion leads to fractionalism. If the minority gets the right to veto, then there will be no reforms. [passage omitted]

Concluding the discussion on this point, Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that one of the forthcoming Central Committee session will discuss all fundamental issues on the LCY transformation. The LCY, Pancevski said, must be a united organization, because it is the expression of the class structure of the federal community. Unity does not mean monolithism or a transnational organization: The principle of cohesion is not determined voluntarily, it is objectively conditioned, Pancevski stressed. This means that the LC will oppose both centralistic and federalistic conceptions, Pancevski said.

Democratic centralism is the fundamental condition for the work and activity of the LC, because the LC cannot be a factor of overall democratic relations in society unless it develops democracy within itself. He said that views which negate in general the principle of democratic centralism, the basic principle of relations within the LC, were unacceptable. Democracy is not anarchy and irresponsibility, and democratic centralism will increasingly gain in importance in the coming period. Without this principle, the LC will turn into a debating club and political forum, Pancevski said.

Ivo Druzic, as a member of the Commission for the Preparation of Proposed Ideopolitical Bases for Changes to the LCY Statute, noted that most participants in today's discussion are members of this commission. Members of the commission presented stances of republican and provincial leaderships, as if we had not agreed to let other Central Committee members speak, Druzic said. There is nothing else for me to do except to present the stances of my republic. Since I do not want to do this, I do not want to be a member of the Commission, Druzic stressed. The second part of the session did not discuss his resignation. Therefore, it was left unclear whether or not he remains a member of the Commission.

Dusan Dragosavac proposed that additional efforts be invested so that by the next congress, a modern and concise draft LCY statute is prepared, a statute free from pragmatism [as received] and without pretensions to regulate everything in detail.

Dragosavac was the last participant in the discussion. It was agreed that a commission will meet to consider all remarks and suggestions regarding the proposed changes to the statute and presented today.

The Central Committee session continues this afternoon at 1700.

Taking up the second item on the agenda, the LCY Central Committee adopted unanimously the Central Committee stances on LCY activities regarding development of interethnic relations on the basis of socialist self-management. The LCY Central Committee Presidium prepared the proposed stances on the basis of the discussion at the previous party plenum. Most of the 30 amendments and interventions made at that session were accepted and included in the proposed stances on interethnic relations, Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, explained. At the request of several Central Committee members, a special item on obligations of LC bodies and organizations in preventing occurrences of minimalization and degradation of the role of Josip Broz Tito was included in the proposed stances.

The adoption of the stances was preceded by a discussion in which eight Central Committee members took part. Ali Sabani proposed that a paragraph on the homogenization of the Albanian nation be erased, since it can be found in other documents, and since it does not talk about homogenizations. He proposed an amendment on the obligations of republican central and provincial committees, LC organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and in federal bodies to consider comprehensively how the policy of national equality is implemented in practice (in all spheres of work and life), and to inform the LCY Central Committee about this prior to the 14th extraordinary congress. [passage omitted]

Once the remarks and amendments to the stances on the situation in and development of interethnic relations were voiced, Ivica Racan proposed—and this was accepted by the LCY Central Committee—that the LCY Central Committee Presidium consider all proposals and incorporates them in a final version of the document. However, he especially pointed out that Ali Sabani's proposal regarding homogenization of Albanians should not be accepted, because these are the stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. He also proposed that these stances are a part of documents and preparations for the 14th extraordinary congress. He informed the Central Committee that the LCY Central Committee Presidium received a series of useful amendments from Vinko Hafner, and proposed that most of them be included in the final version.

After the proposed stances and proposals of Ivica Racan were adopted, Enver Djerdjeku asked to speak. He objected to a part of the proposed stances on the homogenization of Albanians. He said that, as far as he knows, for the first time homogenization of just one nation is singled out, and that this will have important political

consequences. He personally believes that such a stance of the Central Committee will have repercussions on the work of state bodies. Djerdjeku said that he will inform the LCY Central Committee Presidium about all this in writing.

After this intervention, the LCY Central Committee members adopted the proposed draft stances.

Taking up the second part of this item, Stefan Korosec informed the Central Committee that after the last, 25th, session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium received a great number of reactions both from organizations and individuals. These reactions contained very sharp demands for the establishment of ideopolitical, and even criminal, responsibility for individual LCY Central Committee members who talked at the session.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, Korosec said, discussed these reactions on two occasions, and it proposes that the Central Committee adopt stances on this. Korosec then read out the proposed stances in five points.

The LCY Statute and other documents establish the right of every LC member, the proposed stances state, starting from basic organizations to top party bodies, to express their views openly about all issues. Criminal responsibility cannot be ascribed to them for this. Likewise, they have the right to set in motion initiatives for establishing ideopolitical responsibility, but these must be substantiated and argued.

Furthermore, a democratic procedure and critical approach must be evident in the work of all LCY organizations, starting from the basic to the Central Committee. However, it is unacceptable to attack LCY bodies and its members unless attacks are substantiated by arguments. Reactions to the 25th sessions contained some unacceptable and unsubstantiated assessments, in particular in connection with the introductory speech by Ivica Racan.

All LCY members are obliged to oppose a climate in which individuals and LC leaders are insulted in an unprincipled manner. Under such circumstances, it is impossible to work or preserve the integrity of the LCY, the Central Committee and its Presidium, or the legitimacy of its members.

The Central Committee established and adopted stances on the situation in interethnic relations in an united fashion, and holds that they are not an obstacle to cohesion. Therefore, it is obligatory that the stances adopted in this manner be implemented responsibly and consistently.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium and the working presidium of today's session proposed that discussion of this not be open, but that the proposed stances on the reactions and reverberations after the 25th session be adopted. Celestin Sardelic reacted to this.

Celestin Sardelic, who is taking part in the Central Committee work by invitation, said that he basically supports the stances of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. He is in favor of the Central Committee distancing itself explicitly, clearly, and in a politically principled manner from attacks on the introductory speaker at the last session of the Central Committee, Ivica Racan, and on members of the LCY Central Committee who were singled out in newspapers and at numerous political gatherings in Yugoslavia lately, just because they advocated openly and publicly certain political stances and exclusively at the LCY Central Committee session.

No one should question the legitimate possibility, guaranteed by the statute, to criticize stances with which individual basic organizations or the wider party public disagree. But it is unacceptable that, apart from criticism, a political campaign, almost a lynch, is organized, which calls into question an elementary right of the LCY Central Committee member to talk and voice political assessments independently and on one's own responsibility at this forum.

If we in the LCY do not resist the transparent political practice of everyone disagreeing with certain stances or policies, becoming objects of suspicion, disapproval, singling out by name, harassment, disqualification, and even of obvious examples of political lynching, then we have, in my judgement, crossed the line between democratic and undemocratic political organizations. This practice is inadmissable, and if the LCY has no power to resist it effectively, it will go down as antidemocratic, dogmatic, and, in essence, a Stalinist political party in this period of history.

Sardelic then talked about the stances of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee [PC] at the session held on 8 September, which talked about the so-called "Yugoslav" dimension and potential dramatic character of the Knin events. "I was surprised by transparent political arguments, which are ill-founded, and by, above all, the insolence of this unprecedented position in the postwar political history of relations within the LCY."

He said: "If you comrades from the Vojvodina LC PC Presidium care for people, for their rights, their human, political, and national liberties, everywhere, including in Croatia—to which your actions bear no evidence—then a necessary presupposition of talks on the situation in the Knin region, which you try transparently to Kosovize and turn into a Yugoslav issue, is to see how your position differs from nationalistic and chauvinistics attacks and tricks heard these days in Francuska 7 Street [office of the Serbian Writers' Association]. I am afraid that the main problem lies here."

Celestin Sardelic went on to stress that the stands of the Vojvodina LC PC Presidium could not be used as a basis for principled, communist dialogue. "We accept a dialogue on these issues too but not with you for as long as

you adhere to your position as it is today, and for as long as, while dragging on the tail of recognizable forces, you take part in creating or fomenting divisions and conflicts in other environments but remain silent or close your eyes at what is happening in both Vojvodina and the Socialist Republic of Serbia—Sardelic said.

As for national freedoms in Croatia, Sardelic continued, as everywhere in Yugoslavia, there are problems. We are aware of them and have never tried to hide them. The socialist Republic of Croatia is politically responsible for ensuring that the Croat nation, the Serbian nation in Croatia, and all other nations and nationalities in Croatia can fully and freely express their national identity. In other words this means that the legal institutions of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, on their own and in a sovereign way, manage these relations in Croatia as the national state of the Croat nation, of the Serbian people in Croatia and of other nations and nationalities living in Croatia. This is why we oppose the policy of homogenization on a national basis and nationalist patronage from outside the republic.

How could it have happened, Sardelic asked, that the participation of the Sava society in the celebrations at Gazi Mestan was presented as a sign of peace while at the same time this same society was sent as the "taskforce" of the so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution in Vojvodina to the region of Kninska Krajina to disrupt and in a politically significant way provoke abuses?

Sardelic thinks that all this was a calculated action with yet another aim. This is an attempt to make Croatia topical and to alleviate the obvious political consequences of statements and interviews by Cosic, Isakovic, Krestic, and others so as to avoid any responsibility for them, for their rude political provocations further calculated to destabilize the situation in Yugoslavia and Croatia, and to remove the need for explicit political denunciation by the factors responsible for the policy of the environment where they operate. [as received]

This act is in fact designed politically to defend stands by Cosic, Isakovic and others. It serves to increase the chances for the familiar political line action from positions of force and pressure and directed at questioning the Yugoslav federation, at threatening the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] foundations and the achievements resulting from the equality of all the nations and nationalities living in the SFRY.

Celestin Sardelic's contribution provoked a reaction from a number of LCY Central Committee members. In Stanko Stojcevic's view, it went beyond the framework of the agenda, or more precisely against the LCY Central Committee Presidium's recommendation that the proposed stands formulated on the basis of the discussion about the state of interethnic relations at the last session of the LCY Central Committee should not be discussed today. Without wanting to avoid the issues accentuated by Sardelic, Stojcevic proposed that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should conduct a thorough analysis of this. The issue should be on the agenda for the next session of the LCY Central Committee.

Sardelic has uttered many accusations and untruths, inappropriate to his intellectual level or political maturity, Nedeljko Sipovac said. Sardelic used the notorious accusations from the arsenal already used against the Vojvodina LC PC ever since it was elected.

In his view, no LC committee, including the Vojvodina PC, can be denied the right to assess a situation and ask the LCY Central Committee Presidium, as a well-meaning gesture, to analyse that situation and formulate stands for ending interethnic conflicts.

Sipovac invited Sardelic to a session of the Vojvodina LC PC to clarify the misunderstandings. In his view, Sardelic's discussion today is retrograde and will lead to new quarrels. [passage omitted]

The discussion by Celestin Sardelic prompted the LCY Central Committee Presidium to hold a session in the interval of the LCY Central Committee Plenum after which it adopted stands. Stefan Korosec informed the LCY Central Committee members about the stands.

In the view of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Korosec said, Celestin Sardelic, as a guest had the right to take part in the debate at today's session of the LCY Central Committee. The first part of his discussion was within the framework of the session's agenda and the LCY Central Committee Presidium will not comment on the views he voiced.

However, in the Presidium's view, the second part of Celestin Sardelic's discussion, its tone, some of the accusations, and the way it was presented is unacceptable and deviated not just from the agenda but also from the LCY Central Committee's stands on interethnic relations.

The Presidium is of the view that such complex social issues should not be raised in such a way.

Regarding the initiative of the Vojvodina LC PC and the problems raised by Sardelic, Korosec continued, we have been informed that they have not yet been discussed by the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium has concluded that these issues should be discussed by the Vojvodina LC PC Presidium, the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The LCY Central Committee adopted the Presidium's stands and views on Celestin Sardelic's discussion. At the same time, the LCY Central Committee charged the Presidium with the task of formulating its stands after the debate on these issues and informing the Central Committee about them. [passage omitted]

A five-member working group was formed this evening by the LCY Central Committee to determine if an

initiative by the Montenegro LC Central Committee to release Slobodan Filipovic and Andjelko Kovacevic from membership in the LCY Central Committee was justified.

Slobodan Filipovic described the initiative as staged and unfounded and went on to draw attention to a number of instance in which the statute had been violated in his particular case. [passage omitted]

I accept the LC's commitment to heighten responsibility but not if it serves unprincipled political showdowns and criticism for the sake of some goals which I could not find in the LCY statute, Andjelko Kovacevic said. He cannot accept the way in which the initiative to release him from the LCY Central Committee was set in motion since it raises a number of issues with wider implications for the nature of relations within the LC. [passage omitted]

At the start of the debate on Zdravko Grebo's resignation from the LCY Central Committee, Stefan Korosec briefly outlined the explanation of why the resignation had been tendered at the 24th session of the LCY Central Committee. Grebo tendered his resignation because he disagreed with the LCY Central Committee's stands on the key issues of the social and political crisis and the way of overcoming it. In Grebo's view, radical changes are needed. In view of the fact that the resignation had wide repercussions with demands that it be rejected, Korosec explained, the LCY Central Committee Presidium considered the resignation within the framework of the preparations for today's session. Regardless of the fact that this was a personal act, the Presidium is of the view that Grebo should withdraw his resignation. A debate should be organized on all these important issues which, in any case, have prompted the LCY to convene the 14th extraordinary congress.

Zdravko Grebo's resignation is hardly of a personal nature, Filip Vukovic said and called on the LCY Central Committee not to accept it. Speaking about the situation in the LCY, Vukovic proposed that [passage indistinct]. [passage omitted]

I would like to assure you, Zdravko Grebo said, that the motive behind my resignation was not to show off, let alone to seek the kind of support I received today. It all looked like an auction of enforced compliments which were never part of my intention. I am aware that the reasons I gave for my resignation have for the majority of you become irrelevant and that most of you have by now forgotten what it was all about.

If a discussion about these reasons was a kind of condition—not imposed by me—and if the discussion was postponed in the way it is said to have happened, then the outcome of my decision [passage indistinct].

I just wish to remind you, Grebo continued, that I resigned over a report on the work of the LCY Central Committee in the period between the two congresses because I felt that statements about growing, primarily nationalist, conflicts and confrontations were not appropriately qualified. In my view, this reflected a lack of courage which could have catastrophic consequences for a political movement.

What happened in Yugoslavia and the LC during that period is of such crucial importance that the existing agreement not to discuss this issue other than in the general terms we use to talk about the crisis—which seems to be our sole common feature— does not provide any guarantee that we shall ever move toward a democratic solution. I will not be the first who has realized that the LCY no longer exists as a united organization in the true sense or from the territorial or program point of view.

In this country, nationalism, or at least its extreme forms, has been used as a means of diverting attention from incompetence in resolving vital social problems and of maintaining a system which continues to generate disasterous situations, Grebo said. In this way, a chaotic situation has been perpetuated as a training ground for a civil war.

Regardless of my resignation I think that our problems are primarily of an ideological nature. For, while Serbian communists are fighting Slovene communists, the communists from the youth organization are fighting communists from the war veterans organization, communists in the Trade Union organization are against the communist government, we continue to pretend that we belong to the same party, to the same revolutionary movement. How is it possible, Grebo asked, that this same Central Committee harbors "facists" and "lackeys"—as they call each other—and that according to responsible officials, while individual republics are being destabilized, we sit and wait for the situation to resolve itself.

The naive ones probably no longer believe that the nationalist euphoria in this country is continuing without patronage from high political offices. I see this as a counterrevolutionary threat against the country. [passage omitted]

In view of all this, Grebo continued, I ask you to interpret my decision to resign not as an attempt to abandon the struggle for the goals advocated by our movement, but to see it in the light of the reasons I have just given, Grebo concluded.

Since no one else asked to speak, Stefan Korosec noted that the Central Committee had accepted Zdravko Grebo's resignation and his explanation.

The 22d [as received] plenum of the LCY Central Committee ended shortly after 2000 GMT after the Commission for the Preparation of Proposed Ideopolitical Bases for changes to the LCY Statute accepted the majority of the about 50 proposals made during the morning debate. This document will be "open" to all suggestions that are made during a public debate on the transformation of the LCY.

'Openness' in Party Leadership Viewed

AU1209144989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 89 p 6

[Ivan Torov commentary: "Openness Behind Doors"]

[Text] Such a thing can only happen in our country. Just when you think that something has found its place and is beginning to acquire an acceptable and useful logic... then danger rears its ugly head again.

In the avalanche of criticism that have overrun the leaderships of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the last few years, one of the most vehement and frequent demands among those saying that the party must separate from power and the state and renounce the monopoly of the leading elite, was the one that the organs and forums of the League of Communists should open up to the public and the membership so that finally what is what and who is who could be seen clearly. The first moves last year and the year before last in the federal party leadership encouraged the expectations that openness to the media would be the normal style of working, in which bureaucratic logic would no longer decide what is for internal use and what is for the public.

As time goes by, openness increasingly becomes a story for the naive, particularly for those who irreconcilably believed that the party leaders would simply agree to be the daily target of critical re-examination because of their publicly voiced stands and views. Particularly, as many of them have had very bad experiences. There are virtually no exceptions. If in some republican parties there have in the past been more frequent calls for journalists to inform the public, this is today a real rarity, even in those communities where there were thunderous demands for "glasnost," but which still closed themselves behind one hundred doors. Sometimes a session of the narrower party leaderships is open, but this more often conceals the intention to bears one's teeth at some other leadership rather than the result of the sincere desire for even this type of democratization of party life.

The impression is that everyone—in this destructive flood of intolerance and nationalist exclusivity—has barricaded himself in even more and dug into his trenches, informing "his own" public media and that of "others" only by means of sparse and clumsy announcements. A real political war is being now waged using these proven bureaucratic means and way of communicating.

The example of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is perhaps the most illustrative. Under the pressure of the critical consciousness in the media but also of the increasingly perceptible polarization among its members, the Presidium began as early as 1987—in line with earlier adopted conclusions—to gradually open up its sessions. First of all, reporting with considerable generalization and without the citing of names, was made possible for the journalists of four editorial offices (TANJUG, KOMUNIST, BORBA, and Yugoslav radio and television). The subjects for the public were carefully chosen and polemics were avoided so that some essential changes in relation to earlier announcements were lacking.

In the first half of last year, another step was taken in opening up the Presidium. The list of editorial offices was expanded to include all leading federal and main republican newspapers and the actual style of the reports increasingly acquired real professional characteristics. The more differences and even open conflicts there were among members of the Presidium—during the mass meetings, "anti-bureaucratic" happenings, turmoil, and disharmony among the leaderships—the more the media improved in quality, dynamism, and importance, despite the fact that the practice was still applied of keeping the most sensitive debates under lock and key.

The new work style of the federal party leadership received a very favorable response in part of the public, while in another part fierce criticism continued of its members collectively and of individuals who did not "suit the people." The fact that a tradition was being born which could indeed have a beneficial effect in the long term on the efficiency of the party leadership could not even be refuted by the increasing uneasiness of some of its members because their every word was exposed to the scrutiny of the public. Especially since the positions of many chiefs were at that point already seriously undermined and some of them had to quit political life soon after.

It was considered that opening up the debates would have a favorable effect on sobering up the narrower party team and strengthening its responsibility, thus creating conditions for more sober work on eliminating the disputes and misfortunes that had amassed....

However, all this continued until the beginning of this year. Most of the Presidium was in the meantime changed for various reasons, so it was no longer possible to speak about the same leadership which had begun the opening up. It can be assumed that the cadre reconstruction has had a critical effect on the Presidium's present way of working, but the fact is that after the 1 and ½ year experiment which seemed to us to be a success, the leadership has again locked its doors. And this without either an explanation or an openly published report.

One can sense with a certain amount of reliability how the Presidium, and not just the Presidium, works and what the level of unity among the membership is, only by reading (the announcements) between the lines, by considering the course and style of debate at the sessions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, or even by considering the solo speeches by members of the federal Presidium in "their own" communities. It is not difficult to discern the tones which are often different from what is contained in the statements

from the closed sessions of the executive political organ of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Former Kosovo Youth Leader Expelled From LCY

LD1309230689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Pristina, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—Today the party organization of the work community of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation Provincial Conference meted out ideopolitical measures against four former leaders of the provincial youth organization. Adem Hasanaj, former president of the Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation Provincial Conference, was expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], because of his responsibility for the situation in the youth organization and the confusion caused by his behavior and unacceptable stances in connection with changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the November and February events in Kosovo.

The measure of final warning was meted out to Branko Minic, the then secretary of the Kosovo youth organization, because of opportunitistic behavior and support given to President Adem Hasanaj. The measure of final warning was pronounced on Besim Krasnici, and the measure of warning on Hazbi Gasij, former members of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation Provincial Conference Presidium.

Mahmut Alidemaj, professional political worker in the Kosovo Youth Federation provincial conference, was expelled from the LCY and, as a result of various malversation and abuses of the official post and funds, was suspended from the work. The measure of warning for unscruplous work and behavior which had effects on interpersonal relations in the work community, was meted out to worker Ljiljani Stankovic.

It is interesting that the party organization of the work community of the provincial youth organization not only accepted, but also pronounced more severe measures than the ones proposed by the working group for former top leaders of the youth organization.

The present youth organization of Kosovo, with Redzep Hodza at its head, thereby showed once more that it is persistent in clearing up its own ranks. At the same time, however, it demands similar actions in other provincial organizations and bodies.

Kosovo Polje Unhappy With Political Situation

AU1309104589 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 9 Sep 89 p 5

[B.R. report: "Situation Still Very Involved"]

[Excerpt] Yesterday's meeting of the Kosovo Polje League of Communists [LC] Communal Committee, chaired by Mitar Baljevic, president, examined the current political and security situation in the area, with special reference to ideopolitical differentiation in jobs and efforts to prevent the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Mitar Baljevic made introductory remarks on these subjects at the meeting, at which Dobrosav Radovic, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; and Zika Radojlovic, from the Serbian LC Central Committee Political Aktiv, were also present.

Baljevic said that the political and security situation in Kosovo Polje is still more serious and complicated because of the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists. For this reason, Serbian and Montenegrin emigration is still continuing, and ideopolitical differentiation is proceeding slowly. Those expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] are writing petitions to the LCY Central Committee, and hostile slogans are being written in some areas. Fifty-two persons, he said, have emigrated from Kosovo Polje, and 132 others have announced their intention to do so, while only a total of 32 have returned and have been employed at the Jumko enterprise. Baljevic also criticized the failure to realize the Yugoslav program for Kosovo, and what he called the lethargic response of other republics to this plan.

Talking about ideopolitical differentiation, Baljevic said that, since its formation, the Communal Committee had pronounced 39 ideopolitical measures of various kinds, including 28 expulsions from the LCY, 3 final warnings, 2 warnings, and 3 warnings at LC basic organization level. Three LC basic organizations have also been dissolved, and steps have been taken to establish the responsibility of Zenun Beqa, Xheladin Sahiti, Riza Hoxha, Mustafa Ahmetaj, and Feti Grapci, former managers of the Pristina Railroad Division and the Kosovo-Export enterprise in Kosovo Polje. He also cited the example of the dismissal of six teachers at the Aca Marovic Elementary School in Kosovo Polje, following their expulsion from the LCY.

In the ensuing debate, speakers almost unanimously expressed dissatisfaction at the further deterioration of the political and security situation, the continuing emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and the failure to carry out ideopolitical differentiation. Such speakers as Ratko Maksimovic, Semsi Zejnullahu, Nebojsa Zaric, and Milorad Samardzic criticized cadre policy at provincial level, especially the failure to thoroughly purge certain cadres associated with now discredited policies, such as Sadri Godanci, Daut Jasanica, Budisav Vujsic, Vojislav Zajic, Dr Jovan Bogicevic, Dr Vesel Latifi, etc. There were also demands such as those of Milorad Samardzic, that the Albanian national flag should no longer be allowed to wave over Kosovo, because, he said, it is the flag of a hostile state, and that Kosovo should no longer be called Kosovo, which is a separatist name from Turkish times, but Kosovo and Metohija. [passage omitted]

BORBA Previews Croatian Party Elections

AU1109184389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 89 p 8

[Rajko Vujatovic report: "'Perestroyka' To Suit the Membership"]

[Text] Will the rejection of the "closed" party newspapers and the acceptance of criteria whereby the party membership exclusively will have the crucial word on the election of the highest party organ in Croatia at the same time be a sign of great cadre "perestroyka," or does one not yet know for sure?

As things stand now, and regardless of the will of the party membership, it can be reliably said only that in the next term of office not one of the present republican party heads will be in the highest party organs in the republic and federation because—even though their nominations have been endorsed in several party communities—Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, and Dragutin Dimitrovic, secretary of the Presidium, have both refused to be nominated.

The present head of the republican party organization, Stojcevic, did not accept his nomination because, as he himself said, "it was necessary to respect the criteria regarding limiting terms of office, for which I myself have most resolutely struggled." While Dimitrovic's withdrawal from the party leadership scene remains within the sphere of his own personal decision, which of course creates possibilities for different guesses.

Enough Well-Known Names

Along with Stojcevic and Dimitrovic, the list of those who have so far refused their nomination for different party posts includes, among many others, Celestin Sardelic, Branko Mamula, Dr Tomislav Badovinac, Milutin Baltic, Josip Vrhovec, Dr Predrag Vranicki, Dr Srdjan Vrcan, Dr Boris Vuskovic, Dr Mirjana Kasapovic, Mira Korkut-Slatkovic, Gojko Tintor, and Fadil Hadzic. It is true that some of those mentioned above have not been on the political scene for a long time, because they have already retired, and according to that criterion they cannot be given the green light to become active again. However, since there are many reputable scientists among the aforementioned names, it is to be assumed that they were nevertheless not willing to expose their academic peace to the strong winds of the uncertain job called politics.

Let us also mention that the proposed candidates for the new party head of Croatia also included Dr Ivica Mastruko, who is otherwise well-known among the public for his frequent speeches in the Croatian Assembly, because of which—persistently insisting that power finally rids itself of ideological guardianship—he has led many people to desperation. Of course, respecting one of the criteria that those who carry out posts in the sphere of state power cannot be chosen for new party posts, Dr Mastruko refused his nomination because the public already knew that this "restless" Zadar scientist should "work off" the next 4 years as ambassador to the Vatican.

Each Has His Own Reasons

The Hvar Communists have proposed the head of the Split party organization, Boris Malada, as the future president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, which has been supported in several centers in Dalmatia and other regions of the republic. However, as has been discovered, during consultations Malada agreed to be nominated only as a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia because, as the newspapers have recently been writing, "this would be a duty that, in his own words, he could most successfully carry out." Pluralists (and they should now be considered) who support the separation of the party and the state will most probably not accept Malada's nomination sympathetically because, in his own kind of "inaugural speech" in which he offered his own "statement of intentions," Malada recently let it be known that Communists should not be allowed the luxury of renouncing their power.

The people of Knin nominated for the head of the League of Communists of Croatia the current president of the commune, Jova Kablar, who in their opinion, and in contrast to many others, had more feeling and understanding for the "arrival of the Knin people onto the scene" when he tried on several occasions to persuade the delegates in the Assembly that there had been unjustifiable attempts to endow these meetings with unacceptable political overtones. This brought Kablar great popularity, particularly among the Serbian inhabitants of Croatia, who are thus trying to identify him—as opposed to Dragosavac and Tintor—as a personality who could enjoy their total trust.

The public recently unofficially found out that the list of possible candidates for the head of the League of Communists of Croatia includes many more well-known names, like that of Dr Velimir Srica, current president of the republican committee for science; Bernardo Jurlina, current president of the Croatian trade union; Dr Andjelko Runjic, president of the Croatian Assembly; Branko Puharic, ambassador to Poland; Ivo Druzic, present member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; and Ivica Racan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Unofficial Forecasts

Some people consider that Dr Velimir Srica's chances, regardless of his well-informed image, are not particularly good because of recent criticisms of him, in which his scientific grass roots reproach him for being quite indulgent toward the authorities when the time came to loosen the purse strings to improve the financial position

of science. Nevertheless, despite all this, others say that Dr Srica is rated quite highly among the circles of the generation which is coming up, which is understandable because he has so far presented himself several times as a political expert who is inclined toward more radical reforms, who does not forget in this respect to recall that we must finally realize that "new wine cannot be put into old bottles."

A somewhat more complex tale concerns the nomination of the present ambassador to Poland, Branko Puharic, as the future president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. He recently commented with not too much "diplomatic tact" on the attempt in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia to take him off the list of possible candidates for this post before holding consultations with him, for which the explanation was that, considering the adopted criteria, as a state official he could not "compete" for this high party post for purely formal reasons.

The ambassador thinks that an ambassador is not an official in the state organs, but a senior employee in the state service who is not elected but appointed. He does not participate in the political life of his country because this is more of a profession than a post.

At least, as things stand now, it seems that Dr Ivo Druzic and Ivica Racan nevertheless have the best chances of entering the final of this unique party playoff. Both have received support in quite a large number of party centers and party organizations. There are in fact few communities in the republic which have not decided on them as the future candidates for the chief of the party in the republic. True, it could be said that Dr Druzic is favored more by the Zagreb party organization while—at least according to unofficial reports—Racan has a somewhat higher rating in Istria and Dalmatia.

If all this transpires as it is now being envisaged and only this pair remain in the final race, it is more than certain that the winner will be decided by a hair's breadth. Of course, in this instance the membership will above all bear in mind the platforms that these two current politicians support and which are no secret since both Druzic and Racan have put them forward several times, particularly in their speeches at sessions of the federal party leadership.

The report from the party electoral scene in Croatia which we have offered in this article is definitely not complete. This is understandable since all the work concerning this has not been finished. Those most responsible in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia are not exactly disposed to speak about this subject in more detail.

However, regardless of how this quite important work will finish, it can now be said that the greatest characteristic of these elections is the fact that the list of candidates contains 10 times as many names as those that will be elected, and the fact that for the first time the party membership will elect the leadership that suits them, that is to say, the membership itself will decide to whom it will entrust its confidence, thus certainly attempting to avoid the policy of selecting "half-delegated" cadres.

Meeting of Free Elections Movement Described

LD1309222889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana 13 Sep (TANJUG)—A so-called coordination of the signatories of the document entitled "What kind of elections do we want?" held its fourth meeting in Ljubljana this evening. The coordination includes representatives of the new political alliances and alternative movements, as well as the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation.

The decision was reached that a code of practice be adopted at the next meeting which would establish the basic regulations for convening meetings of the coordination, whose chief aims are amendments to the laws on elections and political association; that is, free and democratic elections, as early as next year if possible.

Also discussed at the meeting were preparations for a "round table" on the same subject, with the participation of representatives of the "official" policy and of the alternative; that is, all those who want democratic elections.

KOMUNIST Party Organization Disbanded

LD1409015789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—Beginning this evening, the basic League of Communists [LC] organization in the work community of the joint departments of the KOMUNIST newspaper publishing work organization is disbanded, and a working group will establish the individual ideopolitical responsibility of its members. This was decided by the Presidium of the committees in the basic LC organizations in bodies and organizations of the federation.

Twice already the Presidium of the committees has discussed the difficult situation in this party organization, which "has not met in the past 2 years." The working group of the committees established numerous irregularities in the work of this service. The decision to disband the organization already had been made by the KOMUNIST central workers' council. The situation there puts a halt to normal functioning and discharging of everyday work tasks.

It should be said that the federal social attorney for self-managment has proposed the introduction of temporary measures in this collective already. The federal attorney brought criminal charges against Dejan Kladarin, director of the work community, for abuse of self-managment.

Vrhovec Demands Candidacy Be Withdrawn

LD1309223289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—Regarding the news published in VECERNJE NOVOSTI on 12 September that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] made a decision that Josip Vrhovec would not receive the post of SFRY ambassador to Finland, the FEC Secretariat for Information issued the following statement today:

At Josip Vrhovec's demand, the FEC at its 17 August 1989 session, decided to withdraw his candidacy for the post of SFRY ambassador to Finland, which was decided by the FEC at the 14 March 1989 session.

Markovic Meets Republican, Provincial Heads

LD1309225889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, today held a meeting with the presidents of the republican and provincial executive councils during which views were exchanged on the latest proposed FEC measures to curb inflation. Special attention was devoted to the measures which are envisaged in the monetary field to bring them more in line with the changes carried out in the economic system and to increase their effect on curbing the high rate of inflation.

As announced by the FEC Secretariat for Information, measures in the fiscal sector are contained in the proposals for amendments to the laws on financial transactions, the financing of the federation, the taxation of trade products and related services and to the customs law. [passage omitted]

After today's consultative meeting with the presidents of the republican and provincial executive councils, the FEC will tomorrow endorse its draft measures which will be submitted to the SFRY Assembly immediately afterward.

Pregl Speaks on Government Economic Plans

AU1209202589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 89 p 1

[B. Gulan report: "The Fight With Inflation Can Begin"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 5 Aug—The Federal Executive Council began its work in the middle of March and proceeded from the three main tenets of its programmatic orientation, which received the support of the Yugoslav Assembly. The aim is to create an integrated market, which means introducing a market of goods and services, a market of capital, and a market of labor, with the affirmation of entrepreneurship. This was stressed by Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, while opening the 17th exhibition entitled "Developing Countries in the Struggle for Food," which is being held within the framework of the 26th International Autumn fair in Novi Sad. From the orientation of the Federal Executive Council, Pregl particularly stressed opening up the Yugoslav economy to the world, along with a strengthening of democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. According to him, this will create conditions for more profound changes in the political system.

The Backbone of Reform

We have so far made great inroads into the economic system, stressed Pregl. A new law on financial operations, a law on social accounting, an even more important law on the National Bank of Yugoslavia, a law on enterprises, and a law on banks have been adopted. The law on labor relations is now going through the procedure and will be adopted this month. As well as this, the procedure is coming to an end regarding the adoption of the law on foreign exchange operations, the law on foreign trade, the law on securities, and the law on the securities market, said Pregl.

The first version of the law on cooperatives will also be proposed this month. We can thus say that at the beginning of next month—without delays—Yugoslavia will have all the key laws which make up the backbone of economic reform and which we can call the institutional framework of the integrated market. The best confirmation of how we work is that until now, for example, foreign economic relations have been regulated by seven laws but from now on there will be two laws. Moreover, we have consistently implemented pluralism in ownership in the sense that the same treatment is given to social, private, cooperative, and mixed ownership, in which the ownership of foreigners and state ownership in the case of public enterprises will find their place.

In the laws, we have consistently adhered to the principle of the national treatment of foreigners, added Pregl, and then stressed: "This means that the same regulations that Yugoslav enterprises must adhere to will also apply to foreigners who will join corporations on the territory of Yugoslavia or who will found their own corporation. Through all these changes to the economic changes, we are creating prerequisites for a thorough reform of our economy and society which also gives to enterprises the flexibility that is a prerequisite for effective anti-inflationary action."

It should be kept in mind, Pregl said, that not one single country which has successfully overcome inflation—regardless of which concept was applied (orthodox or heterodox)—could have done this without first creating a market ambience. We all know that we have so far not had such a market ambience.

Stimulae to Agriculture

According to Pregl, the Federal Executive Council does not expect us to be able to fight against inflation only

with changes to the economic system. The measures that have been taken have in some cases achieved good results in the short term.

Within the framework of economic policy measures and changes to the system, the Federal Executive Council is devoting much attention to agriculture, underscored Pregl. Through the prompt regulating of protected prices, the adoption of measures in the area of credit policy, and measures in the area of taxation and customs policy, we have put the private and social sectors on an unequal footing with respect to tax concessions for the purchase of equipment, tools, and spare parts for agricultural mechanization and construction materials. The abolition of customs duties and special levies on imports of agricultural factor inputs and a string of other measures will in the short term stabilize total agricultural production and in the long term provide significant food surpluses for export. Otherwise all our efforts in agriculture are a part of the efforts of developing countries which wage a merciless battle for food.

Belgrade Papers Report Cholera Outbreak

AU0909163489 Paris AFP in English 1423 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 9 (AFP)—Cholera has broken out in eastern Yugoslavia, where several cases have been reported after an epidemic of bacterial dysentery hit more than 2,000 people, Belgrade newspapers reported Saturday. The epidemic started in late August in the town of Dimitrovgrad, near the Bulgarian border, after unused water pipes were put back into service.

Seven people so far have been diagnosed with cholera in Dimitrovgrad, two dailies, POLITIKA EKSPRES and VECERNJE NOVOSTI, reported. An elderly women living in Smederevo, 60 kilometers (37.5 miles) southeast of Belgrade, was also hospitalized with the disease after visiting Dimitrograd, along with her daughter-in-law who has a suspected case.

Officials in Dimitrovgrad have started legal proceedings against the managers of the city's water supply, the reports said.